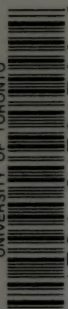


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE STUDY
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT

VOL. I.

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AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

CRITICAL, EXEGETICAL, AND THEOLOGICAL

BY

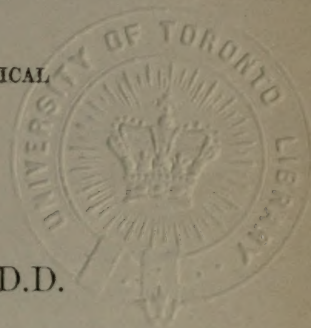
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OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE AND LL.D.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND IMPROVED

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

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PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

AMID the increasing infirmities of age and with failing sight, I have been spared to see another edition of my Introduction to the New Testament through the press. It is the best work which I can do. I trust that readers will find it materially improved, though some may think with its author that it is capable of still further amendment. I have at least attempted to make it more acceptable to scholars and students.

Since the last edition a somewhat similar work has appeared in England from the pen of Dr. Salmon, based on the old orthodox lines; published by Mr. Murray, lauded by Dr. Wace in the 'Quarterly Review,' and eagerly welcomed by the orthodox. Other books advocating traditional views I have not consulted, deeming them unimportant, and perhaps polemic against myself. In a country so ecclesiastically conservative as this, orthodox books are naturally greeted with a favour denied to productions of another stamp. But minds look at evidence differently, especially when that evidence is varying and doubtful. I need hardly say that I have tried to state it fairly and to deduce

from it such conclusions as appear just. Bound by no dogmatic creed, I am free to follow wherever truth leads; having no sect, denomination, or church to please, I am subject to no temptation to conceal my real sentiments or to play the hypocrite for the sake of fame and gain. As to religion, it does not consist in theological science, and allows intellectual freedom when the heart is right.

Here, then, I take my leave of the public and calmly wait till the time for departure comes, when we shall know even as we are known.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

SINCE the first edition appeared, the chief work on Introduction to the New Testament has been Hilgenfeld's 'Einleitung,' the outcome of many books and essays published by that indefatigable scholar. His 'Zeitschrift' also presents valuable critical investigations by the editor himself, Professor Holtzmann, and others, all tending to illustrate the Christian Scriptures.

Mangold supplies useful additions to Bleek's 'Introduction.' Professor Reuss's recent publications on the New Testament are somewhat disappointing, savouring as they do of the Vermittelungs-Theologie, and influenced to some extent by a reactionary spirit towards the Tübingen school. Though this school as represented by Baur and Schweigler has carried its speculations too far, the important advance it has made in the criticism of the New Testament cannot be reversed. Modified it may be; but its mark upon early Christian literature is deep and permanent. In correcting its excesses moderation must be carefully preserved, for examples of backwardism are usually weak. A few faults of the 'Tendenz-Kritik' leave its basis secure.

Most important is the 'Paulinismus' of Pfeiderer, one of the acutest and ablest Germans; while the excellent edition of 'De Wette on the Acts' by Professor Overbeck, is a valuable addition to New Testament criticism.

The German translation of Scholten's treatise on Luke's gospel appeared too late to be used; the first volume of the present work having been already printed off. The view of the synoptics taken by that philosophical scholar differs materially from the one which is given here. His discussion of the fourth gospel is more correct than his opinions about those of Mark and Luke. All that he writes, however, deserves the close attention of Biblical critics.

A few years ago 'Supernatural Religion' was published anonymously, and excited much interest by the outspoken criticism pervading it. The learned work furnishes efficient aid to rational inquiry, and deserves to be studied by all lovers of free investigation. The assaults which were made upon minor details leave its main positions unharmed.

The Lives of Christ and St. Paul by Canon Farrar do little to advance the knowledge or criticism of the New Testament but are rather retrograde, by wrapping traditional views in rhetorical verbiage. It is matter of regret that the preacher's fine talents should be used in gilding opinions which scholars have abandoned; or in dismissing the results of sound criticism with an easily-pronounced condemnation.

The 'Speaker's Commentary' takes its stand upon ideas that have passed out of the sphere of established criticism, and furnishes small help to an intelligent

study of the Christian records. If orthodoxy be not still enthroned in high ecclesiastical quarters it looks as if it were, and receives official homage accordingly.

Imperfect, however, as are all English commentaries of recent origin, they may do good, not only by various correct expositions which they cannot avoid giving, but by references to other views and valuable sources. Their appearance shows an increasing attention to the Scriptures. Even in them small concessions to critical results dribble out and will continue to do so till a full stream long fed by rivulets comes in with a force that cannot be resisted. The consummation too startling to be received at once is avoided and averted till the time arrives when it shall be thought no longer perilous to accept the gain. Meanwhile sticklers for the old count their numbers, and are content.

In arranging the contents of the New Testament chronologically great care has been taken to arrive at their true dates. These can only be approached with more or less probability except that of the Revelation, which belongs with certainty to the end of A.D. 68 or beginning of 69. The gospels and post-Pauline literature are attended with most difficulty; and the inquirer is liable to be perplexed amid the conflicting opinions of critics about them. It is not given to the many to judge aright of internal evidence, which may be pushed unduly to the disparagement of the external.

The present work has been revised throughout, and is much improved in the author's opinion. Few pages appear exactly in their original form; and many new ones are substituted in place of the old. It is hoped that the changes both in substance and form will make

it worthier of acceptance. A book involving the labour and thought of years is susceptible of continuous improvement. All that a critic can do is to give the processes through which results likely to abide the test of rational research have been reached. The conclusions that bid fair to survive should be the aim of the inquirer. Opinions must not be stereotyped hastily if at all; though it is common enough for men to stick to what is old and popular believing that departure from it is dangerous; as if honest efforts to arrive at truth could be other than innocent.

The author is well aware that a perfunctory conservatism is against the ideas which he has sometimes expressed—that he might quietly follow the example of those who make silence cover a multitude of sins, the violation of conscience among them—and that it is unpalatable to gainsay the religious prepossessions of lay and clerical folk, who will rather turn and rend than lend an ear to the setter forth of unusual sentiments. But higher motives prompt the seeker after truth who cannot hush the voice of the critical faculty within; though abuse awaits him in a time of attachment to antiquated opinions. All he can do is to comfort himself with the thought that he is acting purely.

The writer has tried to investigate again and again the New Testament records as impartially as he can; and trusts he has not knowingly neglected any part of the evidence on which they rest, or underrated their true value. Christianity is an essential factor in the education of the human race, and deserves the most serious attention. Bound up with the eternal welfare of man, it supplies the purest incentives to that higher

life which is begun on earth and perfected in heaven. As the first three centuries witnessed its passage through various phases till it assumed a different aspect from the original one, or even from that in which Paul moulded it, the historian must study these shifting views and bring them out into day. The amalgamation of Petrine and Pauline tenets followed by Johannine ideas led up to a theological system which has dominated succeeding times, with a current of Alexandrian philosophy running through it, leaving the forensic logic and Judaic atonement of Paulinism unchanged. Instead of the church being fitted by a long education to be 'the expositor of the true apostolic doctrine,' it seceded from that doctrine and corrupted its simplicity; so that the fathers of the third and fourth centuries, far from being genuine successors of the apostles in respect of theology, set forth a system inconsistent with theirs. The conflict of more than two centuries made the orthodox church a bad interpreter of apostolic doctrine, so that it is impossible to transfer the immediately ante-Nicene, or the Nicene creed itself in its main features, to the time of Paul, without misreading his own statements. In dealing with the theological diversities of the first two centuries, the author has felt the difficulty of the task.

The need of the age is that rational interpretation of the New Testament which traces the spirit without slavery to the letter; the essence as well as the form; the characteristics of the human instruments through which the divine is revealed; and shows them to the reader in their manifold aspect. But there seems little prospect of this amid the commentaries large and small

that issue from orthodox workshops with an ecclesiastical imprimatur on their front ; ruffling the surface of traditional opinion slightly, without satisfying the thoughtful or allaying their doubts. Too often do they and dogmatic systems gloss over the contrarieties and imperfections which are the unavoidable outcome of finite minds in various stages of man's history. Looking only at one of the factors which a divine revelation consists of—the finite and external—they neglect the subjective one which has every difference of degree belonging to the individual soul. And even this procedure is not usually followed ; the prudence of silence being a ready antidote to the arguments and conclusions of a liberal theology ; since it is easier to take no notice of opinions that disturb inherited belief, than to let in fresh light which may bewilder by its suddenness or frighten by its novelty. If the author has helped in any degree to forward a thorough exposition of the canonical Scriptures, he will not have laboured in vain.

Before concluding, he has to express his best thanks to James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., whose generous sympathy in all efforts to promote freedom of opinion and religious progress, entitle him to the highest praise. Few have done so much to help on the cause of truth and justice. He has also to acknowledge his obligations to P. H. Lawrence, Esq., Q.C., for disinterested advice and timely aid. The volumes owe more to these friends than can be publicly expressed.

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE object of what is called an Introduction to the New Testament is well known. It should discuss all such questions affecting each book, as its age, author, object and aim, credibility, characteristics, integrity, contents. Preparatory to the work of a commentator, it often encroaches on his province. The present writer has admitted into this Introduction more interpretation than is usual in works of the same class, supposing that it will be generally acceptable; and has omitted the critical part of that relating to the Greek text, which he has treated in another work. In discussing each question he has tried to write as clearly as the nature of the subject will admit. Greek and Latin passages, as well as single phrases or words, are transferred to notes wherever it was possible to do so, the corresponding English being given in the text. He has not discussed opinions different from his own, except when their plausibility or the influential names by which they are supported demanded notice. He hopes that intelligent laymen as well as critics will not find the book too scholastic to be studied with facility. The treatment

is as brief as possible, excluding extraneous matter in order to save space and economise the reader's time. Nothing which appeared necessary to completeness is intentionally omitted. If the author's views be not always approved, inquiry will at least be stimulated. They are not put forward lightly, but after anxious thought. Difficult questions, on which the evidence is conflicting, had to be treated, and slender probabilities required to be weighed. In these circumstances the author exercised his best judgment, reaching conclusions cautiously where acute scholars differ. Believing that his opinions will be generally admitted sooner or later, he sends them forth to the world, requesting a candid consideration on the part of the reader. The Bible, however, is a difficult book, and mistakes in explaining it can scarcely be avoided ; but impartial thinkers will judge these mistakes leniently.

True critics regret to see that religion is often confounded with a system of theological dogmas. If the two things were clearly distinguished, as they ought to be, a cessation of that bitterness which theologians often show to one another might be reasonably expected. Not that a religion can exist apart from *some* theology. Still the amount of theology needed to constitute a religion may be indefinitely small. If men could see that the Spirit of God neither dwelt exclusively in apostles, nor rendered them infallible however highly gifted they may have been, the sacred records would be less distorted, and different values would be assigned to the several parts of the volume according to their nature. When those records are held to be absolutely correct in all matters, whether historical or speculative, scien-

tific or doctrinal, they acquire a supernatural and fictitious pre-eminence similar to that which is conferred on the pope by the theory of papal infallibility ; they are called God's word throughout, which they never claim to be, and thus free inquiry into their credibility is at once checked or suppressed. God's word is in the Scriptures ; all Scripture is not the word of God. The writers were inspired in various degrees, and are therefore not all equally trustworthy guides to belief and conduct. In the Bible may be found all things necessary for our salvation ; it is an unwarrantable inference that it contains nothing but what is thus needed for all. The Scriptures contain the highest truth ; but this fact is undisturbed by the possibility that they may contain some things which are not truth. The author has thus answered by anticipation all the questions which may fairly be addressed to a writer who undertakes to introduce his readers to the study of the New Testament. Anything like a detailed confession of faith or a theological discussion would here be obviously out of place. It is unnecessary for him to draw out the meaning which he attaches to such terms as sacrifice, mediation, inspiration, revelation. If it be a meaning not accepted by certain schools, whether in the Church of England or other religious bodies, it is one for which a large array of great names may be cited, and which is strengthened by the authority of many among the profoundest of Christian thinkers. He would only remind the reader that the inquiry in which he is at present engaged is strictly confined to the ascertainment of facts : and the statements of the New Testament, not less than the subject of an original revelation, must, in

the words of Bishop Butler, be considered ‘as a common question of fact.’¹ Hence he candidly acknowledges his conviction that all these statements, whether historical or doctrinal, must be submitted to the ordinary rules of critical inquiry.

In England a free current of religious thought has set in, which needs only to be guided with discretion to produce safe results. Opinions which would have excited bitter hostility not long ago, are now heard with calmness. The reputed authorship of books embraced in the canon is discussed and rejected without the idea that the inquiry is dangerous to the soul. Accredited teachers of religion may canvass the commonly received opinions about the writer of a gospel or epistle, without risking the loss of their position; at least, clergymen of the Church of England may do so, enjoying a freedom favourable to the advancement of rational Christianity, under the protection of the highest civil tribunal. Of this most valuable privilege they are expected to avail themselves.

¹ *Analogy*, Part II. ch. ii. § 2.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTORY.

BEFORE examining the parts of the New Testament separately, it may not be amiss to notice their general features, especially the nature of their teaching. The sacred communications are characterised by unity and diversity. The data do not sanction a uniform scheme of dogma for Christ and all His followers, because the incipient theology of the apostolic age was developed in the following centuries with varying ability.

Three moulds of doctrine are presented—the Jewish Christian or Palestinian, the Pauline, and the Alexandrian; their common basis being the character and work of Christ which are presented in different lights. Absolute unity does not exist. The diversity arises from the writers' different educations and idiosyncrasies, as well as the conflicts of early Christianity. In the texture and tone of the records we see the literary freedom which prevailed till Gnosticism occasioned a selection of Church literature.

The types in question sometimes intermingle, while there are examples of neutrality refusing to be classified. The Pauline mould underwent changes after the apostle's death; so that the post-Pauline epistles exhibit doctrines

developed out of his by progressive thought or by philosophy. The distinctness of the moulds should not be hastily exaggerated into antagonism, though some antagonism must be admitted; and it is equally incorrect to convert *substantial* coincidence into a uniform system of doctrine, though the error has been committed by stiff orthodoxy under the influence of a peculiar theory of inspiration. The types are discernible because they are broad and characteristic, though they may even intersect one another in the same work. Refusing to be crushed into a single dogmatic creed, a due observation of them is essential to the interpretation of the New Testament.

The earliest type of doctrine in the New Testament is Jewish Christianity, which was the belief of the twelve apostles. To the same type belong the first gospel, the Acts partly, with the epistles of James and Jude. If the second and third gospels be classed with this type, they are also impregnated with Paulinism, as are the first and second epistles of Peter. The prominent feature in this conception of Christianity is its connection with Jewish Christology, which leads to Millenarian representations. The Alexandrian type is presented in the epistle to the Hebrews with its allegorising, and in the Johannine writings with the *logos* doctrine, and their ideal, mystic view of Christ's person. Pauline Christianity is represented by Paul's authentic epistles, as well as those written by disciples in his name. The Acts of the Apostles and 1 Peter reflect in part this type, which is characterised by an ideal, though intelligible view of Christ's person, with its doctrine of faith and Christian freedom. The second and third forms approximate, and the three have one basis. But it is difficult to mould them into a single system whose constituent parts hang well together. The fact of the types being mixed, not pure, except in Paul's authentic epistles, makes their classification to some

extent indefinite. Even the primitive Ebionite form did not escape the influence of later ideas. Hellenistic has a freer spirit than Jewish Christianity; but its dogmas are too easily detached from practical life.

It is necessary to distinguish the teaching of Jesus from the conceptions which apostles and evangelists had of it. His doctrine was ethical, introduced in the form of Old Testament Messianism refined and purified. If the Messianic idea contained the hope of a universal kingdom, the Founder's conception may have embraced the salvation of the human race, but that is doubtful, since the final commission to baptize and make disciples of all nations did not proceed from Him.

What did Jesus mean by *the kingdom of God*? His meaning is not apparent. He says: 'In the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Matt. xix. 28). So also in Luke: 'That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (xxii. 30). 'For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come' (xxii. 18). These and cognate passages are too definite to be resolved into nothing but figurative ones, or to be interpreted as accommodations to the sensuous expectations of the disciples. They show that the plan of Jesus embraced the Messianic idea that He should set up His throne during the lifetime of that generation as a King and Judge—that He hoped to initiate a national, theocratic kingdom, spiritualised and ennobled by His peculiar moral-religious world-view, accompanied with important material renewals—a kingdom in which virtue, piety, and happiness should reign undisturbed. By this means the Messianic ideas of His disciples were corrected. The kingdom they looked for was transformed into a higher than a political one. A wondrous realm in a renewed earth it was to

be ; all enemies to goodness having been subdued. When we try to form a correct view of Jesus's utterances regarding this kingdom of God, we find they have much vagueness and ambiguity. Their differences also in the synoptic gospels and the fourth are so apparent that the latter must be left out of account in any attempt to get a proper sketch of Jesus's hopes. His apostles and other early reporters misunderstood some of His sayings, making them crasser. Oral tradition marred their original form. This is specially the case with respect to the enthusiastic hopes about the kingdom He looked for. But as the ideal did not become actual we must rest in the great fact that the Christianity He introduced was the nucleus of a perfect system adapted to universal humanity.

The basis of the kingdom of heaven or of God is formed out of Jewish Messianic conceptions divested of the political and sensuous ; nor can it well be denied that the ideas of Jesus about the time of its inauguration and His own position in it, along with that of His immediate followers, were flavoured with enthusiasm. Righteousness is the pervading attribute of the kingdom. The happy inhabitants of the kingdom exhibit divine perfection in human form. While it is partly material, it is mainly a spiritual kingdom ; for the latter overshadows the former ; the character, end, and view of the whole being spiritual. Though terrestrial Messiahship disappears in the fourth gospel under Hellenic influences, it cannot be excluded from the conception of Jesus which appears in the synoptics. Probably a comprehensive universalism, embracing all the nations of the earth, did not enter originally, if ever, into that conception. When this ideal kingdom is realised, then the kingdoms above and below become one *in actuality* as they are one in Jesus's Messianic conception ; the divine and the human coalesce ; earth is heaven, and heaven earth.

The teaching of Jesus took the form of proverb, parable, allegory, symbolical transaction, all directly bearing upon the elevation of humanity. The ultimate object of His doctrine was to put men in a moral relation to God and one another, to purify the mental springs of action,—in a word, to regenerate mankind. The Sermon on the mount, the most authentic summary of what He taught, penetrates to the innermost source of good, recognising a general principle in man which combines faith, love, and moral force, viz. *rightness of heart* before God, or *the single eye* filling the whole body with light. The essential thing in His view involves the ultimate coincidence of religion and morality, a conception which was gradually evolved and not completed till after His death.

Here it may be advisable to state, that the inspiration of *writings* is a loose expression instead of the inspiration of *writers*; for the word can only apply to persons. We understand by it an uplifting of the mind in union with its own potentialities, not a supernatural infusion of new ideas. The consciousness of the divine originally engrafted in man's nature is stimulated, strengthened, and heightened—not indeed to perfect accord with the will of God, for that is unattainable, but in different degrees. The germ is developed, ideas are suggested, the process being still natural, and the fallibility of the finite remaining. The inspired man does not become miraculously gifted; he is spiritualised. His moral nature is refined. Inspiration is therefore cognate with the genius of the poet, affecting the active powers of the mind more than the intellectual, moving in the region of the moral and spiritual. Its intensity, purity, and comprehension are conditioned by the mental peculiarities, and necessarily limited by the times of the writers.

As to miracles, they must be viewed in the light of psychology. They are phenomena of the religious con-

sciousness rather than of nature, and rest on a dualistic conception. Those who take an external view of revelation cannot find God in the natural order of events or in the moral acts of man ; but look for Him in supernatural things which interrupt the course of nature and the connection of history. But the immanence of Deity is lost sight of when the phenomena of nature are transcended in order to find wonders which He works directly. A theoretical distinction is created between the natural and the supernatural by the religious consciousness expatiating beyond universal experience and tending to dualism. Uniform experience and the constant presence of God in the succession of all creatures and all events throw the idea of miracle into the background. It must also be said, that miracles are not an essential part of real Christianity, but are outside its everlasting truths. The words of Christ alone are eternal ; and it is they, not miracles that form the indestructible basis on which our religion rests. They are of its essence, while belief in the arbitrary suspension of nature's order may pass away. Yet miracles, though lacking credibility, are still taken along with prophecy as evidence of the Christian religion by those who seek more than the single fact of its agreement with conscience, and its enforcement of a morality which is able to lift humanity out of sin.

With respect to the numerous quotations which we shall adduce from early Christian writers, it should be noted that the apostolic fathers, and their successors down to about A.D. 180, though using New Testament books and other Christian literature, do not attribute to any of them equal authority with that of the Old Testament. Sometimes they give inspiration to *apostolic* writings, but only to such as the churches had. No canon existed till after A.D. 170. Justin Martyr does not employ any of the New Testament writings as authoritative, not even our gospels. In like manner the Pseudo-Ignatius

(about 170 A.D.), when appealing to the *gospel*, does not mean a written book inspired. Though acquainted with most of the New Testament books, he expressly rejects appeal to any Christian writings as a standard of truth, only admitting what is in the Jewish archives. The Pseudo-Polycarp stands on the same basis, as does also Hegesippus, whose rule is 'the law, the prophets, and the Lord.' A New Testament canon did not appear till the 'Catholic Church' was being formed, the two things taking place simultaneously. After isolated attempts had been made in different parts of Christendom to collect portions of the new literature, a general canon followed, involving like authority to that which the Old Testament had received. Such writers as the Pseudo-Ignatius and Hegesippus stand on the threshold of a 'Catholic Church,' when the process of making a canon like Irenæus's was verging toward completion. But Hegesippus can still condemn a statement which Paul makes in 1 Cor. ii. 9.

The part of the canon which was first co-ordinated with the law and prophets was 'the Lord's words,' which are referred to by several of the apostolic and post-apostolic fathers in a way implying inspiration and authority.

The mistake of transferring such language to the written gospels which record 'the words' should be avoided, else Papias, Polycarp, and others are misinterpreted. The phrase '*words of the Lord*' or '*oracles of the Lord*' in the early Christian writers must not be directly identified with a canonical gospel.¹

¹ See *The Canon of the Bible*, by Davidson, 3rd edition 1878.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

THE CHURCH AT THESSALONICA AND DATE OF THE EPISTLE.

THESSALONICA, on the site of the ancient Therma, was built at the mouth of the river Echedorus on the Thermaic gulf, and was so named by Cassander in honour of his wife. At the time of the Roman dominion it was large, populous, and wealthy, the metropolis of Macedonia, the seat of a Roman pro-consul and quæstor. Many Jews resided there because of its favourable situation.

Paul visited it on his second missionary tour, in company with Silas, perhaps Timothy also, soon after he entered Europe, and found the usual synagogue of the Jews (Acts. xvii. 1). Considerable success attended his preaching. It is true that some only of the Jews believed, but a great number of Greek proselytes, and many women of distinction, united themselves to him (xvii. 4). The body of the converts consisted of Gentiles. A large church was gathered, to which few of Jewish extraction belonged, as we infer from 1 Thess. i. 9.

The historian in the Acts speaks of the apostle resorting to the synagogue three Sabbath days, from which some conclude that he stayed at Thessalonica only three weeks. But the idea of a longer abode is favoured by Phil. iv. 16 and 1 Thess. ii. 9: 'For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity. . . . For ye remember, brethren, our labour and

travail : for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God.' It cannot be that these repeated supplies from Philippi belong to a later visit which Paul made to Thessalonica when he fled from Ephesus (Acts xxi. 1, etc.), as Olshausen supposes. They were sent to him *in the beginning of the gospel, when he departed from Macedonia* (iv. 15); that is, when he published the gospel among the heathen, at the time of his leaving Macedonia; which can only refer to his first visit to Thessalonica. It is likely that the unbelieving Jews drove him away from the synagogue to another place at the end of three weeks, so that he continued a little longer. Yet his stay was short, so that he could not instruct the believers fully in the doctrines and duties of Christianity. De Wette supposes, with great probability, that his preaching took in the main an apocalyptic tendency; that is, it turned on the coming of Christ as a sovereign; the leading ideas incorporated in his teaching being connected with that topic. The political charges of the Jews agree with this. Paul and his associates are accused of acting contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, and setting up another king, one Jesus (Acts xvii. 7). The envy and opposition of the Jews, as well as other circumstances, show that the minds of the Thessalonians had been forcibly impressed with the truth in question.

Compelled to leave Thessalonica, Paul and Silas went to Berœa, whither Thessalonian Jews followed. It would also seem that Timothy, who had remained at Thessalonica, rejoined Paul at Berœa (comp. Acts xvii. 10, 14; 2 Thess. i. 1). After the Jews had caused the apostle to leave Berœa, he was conducted to the sea, and sailed for Athens, accompanied by Timothy, possibly by Silas too. From the capital of Attica, Paul sent Timothy back to Thessalonica, whence he returned to the apostle. Such is the account implied in the first epistle to the Thessalonians. The statement of the Acts

is different, and even contradictory in some particulars. Here Silas and Timothy remained behind when Paul went to Athens, his Berean escort having orders to send them to him in Athens. The reunion, however, did not take place till the apostle was at Corinth (Acts xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 5).

After Paul had despatched his faithful friend to Thessalonica, he departed for Corinth, where he continued a considerable time. During this stay he thought much about the Thessalonians, and had great anxiety on their account; but as soon as Timothy returned from his Macedonian journey with a favourable report, the apostle resolved to write an epistle. Hence the date is about A.D. 53 at Corinth.

IMMEDIATE OCCASION AND OBJECT.

The account of the church brought by Timothy gave rise to the epistle. The apostle learnt from his messenger that the members had remained steadfast though exposed to persecution, and that their zeal had been an example to many. But some circumstances were less cheering. An enthusiastic expectation of Christ's immediate return led to neglect of their worldly calling as well as to undue depreciation of prophecy. Hence their spiritual parent thought it needful to address a letter to them. The object he had in view was to encourage and admonish; to encourage them in steadfastness, and admonish them concerning things they ought to abandon. He confirms and comforts them, enjoining them to act differently in some respects, to be holy, diligent, and humble, walking worthy of their high calling.

CONTENTS.

The epistle may be divided into two parts, chaps. i.-iii., and iv., v. The first of these contains the free utterances of the apostle's heart to the Thessalonian

believers respecting their state, his reception among them, his affectionate solicitude on their behalf, and the joy he felt from the good report he had received. The second consists of various admonitions and exhortations relative to their moral condition, administering comfort about the fate of deceased friends at the coming of Christ, warning them to be always ready for that event, and concluding with general counsels.

1. After an introductory salutation, the writer speaks of his continued thanksgiving to God for the faith, love, and hope of the Christians at Thessalonica. He praises them for their prompt reception of the truth, though they were in circumstances of great trial, and speaks of the honour they had in sending forth the gospel into neighbouring countries. They forsook their idolatry so cheerfully as to be an example to others (i. 1-10).

He reminds them of his first appearance at Thessalonica, that he had been anxious solely for their spiritual welfare, supporting himself by the toil of his hands, and burthensome to none; so that his conduct among them had been characterised by kindness, benevolence, and disinterested affection. He also reminds them of the counsels he had given respecting holiness. After this he praises God again for their willing reception of the gospel, and their steadfast endurance of all the persecutions that had befallen them (ii. 1-16).

The apostle utters his longing to see them again, remarking that he had attempted to return to them several times, but had been hindered. Meanwhile he had sent Timothy to establish and comfort them. By this faithful attendant he had received a pleasing account of their state, which was an unspeakable comfort amid all his discouragements; and therefore he thanks God, beseeching Him to increase their faith and love (ii. 17-iii. 13).

2. Paul exhorts them to purity of conduct, brotherly

love, and a quiet, orderly pursuit of their daily avocations (iv. 1-12). Coming to eschatology, he instructs them respecting the resurrection of the dead at Christ's reappearance, showing that the deceased should not be deprived of the blessings of Messiah's reign on earth, but be favoured with their Lord's immediate presence simultaneously with the living. As to the time of Christ's coming, he remarks that it will be sudden, so that they should be always prepared, awake and sober, as children of the day (iv. 13-v. 11).

He counsels them to respect those who presided over them, and to be at peace among themselves; to warn the disorderly, to comfort the feeble in faith, to be patient towards all; to return nothing but good for evil; to be ever contented and happy; to be frequent in prayer and praise; not to repress the spiritual gifts which some of them had received, nor to despise prophesyings as the offspring of enthusiasm, but to prove all the inspirations of the prophets, and retain only what is good. They are to abstain from all sin, and to practise universal righteousness, to which he subjoins the appropriate prayer that God would sanctify them—body, soul, and spirit. In conclusion, he requests their prayers, sends his salutations, and solemnly adjures them to read the letter in public, which is succeeded by the usual benediction (v. 12-28).

AUTHENTICITY.

Allusions to the epistle in the apostolic fathers are indistinct, though several are given by Lardner and Kirchhofer. In the epistle to the Corinthians attributed to Clement of Rome by uncertain tradition (between 110 and 120) we read: 'We ought in all things to give thanks to Him' (1 Thess. v. 18).¹ 'Let our whole body therefore be saved in Christ Jesus' (1 Thess. v. 23).²

¹ Ὁφείλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ.—*Ep. ad Corinth.* c. 38.

² Σωξέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.—*Ibid.*

These references are indistinct. In the epistles of Ignatius we find: 'Devote yourselves to unceasing prayers, (1 Thess. v. 17).¹ 'Pray also for other men without ceasing' (v. 17).² The word 'unceasing' is absent from the Armenian and Syriac in both places. But the seven Greek and the three Syriac epistles cannot be reckoned authentic³

The supposititious letter of Polycarp has : 'Making

¹ Προσευχᾷς σχολάζει ἀδιαλείπτως.—*Ad Polycarp. i.*

² Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε.—*Ad Ephes. c. 10.*

³ The latter are abridged from the former, and both are later than Ignatius himself, round whose person the mythical element gathered, such as his condemnation by Trajan to be devoured by wild beasts in the Flavian amphitheatre. John Malalas is not a very trustworthy writer; but his statement that Ignatius suffered in his own city is more probable than the death at Rome. With the account of the martyrdom at Antioch a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 14,643), containing a Syriac chronicle, agrees. Harnack admits that we have no certain knowledge of very early date about the martyr being brought to Rome.—*Die Zeit des Ignatius*, p. 67.

The date of the letters is separated from the martyrdom by a considerable time. As to the latter, there is no evidence, prior to Eusebius, for putting it in Trajan's reign. How did he suffer? By wild beasts, says Irenæus, on no other authority than Ignatius's epistle to the Romans; while Origen states that it was at Rome 'in a persecution,' where the seven epistles seem to have been his only source of information. The knowledge of the subject possessed by Eusebius himself was drawn from the epistles, Irenæus, and Polycarp irrespective of independent tradition. If Ignatius died under Trajan and at Antioch according to Malalas, the evidence of the letters themselves requires a later date for their composition; for the monarchical constitution of the Church is presupposed, and their polemic allusions to Gnostic heretics prove that the epistles were not written before the age of the Antonines. The idea of monarchical episcopacy slightly emerging in the pastoral epistles appears in a highly developed form in these supposititious ones.

Polycarp's letter to the Philippians, written not long after the Ignatian ones, and with the view of supporting them, is also supposititious.

The labour and learning expended on the Ignatian letters and Polycarp's since the publication of the Curetonian three, by Zahn, Funk, and Lightfoot, must be pronounced unavailing. The last of these scholars, with a hopeless case, dates Ignatius's martyrdom about A.D. 110, thus bringing the episcopacy of the letters very near the time of John the apostle.—See the *Athenæum* for December 12, 1885, and Baur's *Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopats in der christlichen Kirche*, p. 148, etc.

intercession for all without ceasing' (v. 17);¹ 'Abstaining from all iniquity' (v. 22).²

The authenticity of the epistle is clearly attested by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria.

Irenæus writes: 'And on this account the apostle, explaining his own meaning, has set forth the perfect and spiritual man of salvation, speaking thus in the first epistle to the Thessalonians: "And may the God of peace sanctify you wholly, and your entire spirit, soul, and body be kept without complaint till the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ"' (v. 23).³

Tertullian says: 'And therefore the majesty of the Holy Spirit, which discerns such senses, suggests in the epistle to the Thessalonians itself: "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you; for yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night,"' etc. (v. 1, etc.)⁴

Clement of Alexandria writes: 'This the blessed Paul plainly signified, saying: "When we might have been burdensome as apostles of Christ, we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children"' (ii. 7).⁵

The epistle was in Marcion's canon. It is also in

¹ Ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων.—*Ad Philipp.* c. 4.

² Ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας.—*Ibid.* c. 2.

³ 'Et propter hoc apostolus seipsum exponens, explanavit perfectum et spirituale salutis hominem, in prima epistola ad Thessalonicenses dicens sic: Deus autem pacis sanctificet vos perfectos, et integer vester spiritus et anima et corpus sine querela in adventum Domini Jesu Christi servetur.'—*Adv. Hæres.* v. 6, i.

⁴ 'Et ideo majestas Spiritus Sancti perspicax ejusmodi sensuum et in ipsa ad Thessalonicenses epistola suggerit: De temporibus autem et temporum spatiis, fratres, non est necessitas scribendi vobis. Ipsi enim certissime scitis, quod dies Domini, quasi fur nocte, ita adveniet,' etc.—*De Resurrect. Carnis*, c. 24

⁵ Τοῦτό τοι σαφέστατα ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὑπέσημνητο, εἰπών· δυνάμενοι ἐν βαρεῖ εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, ἐγενήθημεν ἡπιοὶ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν τροφὸς ἐάλπη τὰ ἐνυτῆς τέκνα.—*Pædagog.* i. p. 88 (ed. Sylburg).

the old Latin and Syriac versions, as well as the Muratorian fragment.

The chief opponent of the epistle's authenticity is Baur, whose arguments are marked by his usual acuteness and are in substance the following.

1. Among all the Pauline letters, none is so far behind the rest in the nature and importance of its contents. Not a single doctrinal idea is prominently adduced except that in iv. 13-18. The contents consist of general instructions, admonitions, wishes, such as are merely subordinate and secondary in the Pauline epistles. The unimportant nature of the materials, the absence of special interests and of a reasonable motive for writing, testify an un-pauline origin.

If the contents of the epistle correspond to the known circumstances and wants of the church at Thessalonica, provided they do not contradict ascertained Pauline characteristics, the critic should be satisfied. Should the didactic and doctrinal element be overpowered by the hortatory, may not the relations between Paul and the church account for it? We should look to historical circumstances for the origin and character of the letter, not to abstract considerations of Christian doctrine. Expectation of Christ's immediate advent seems to have had a great effect on the church. Laying hold of their minds, it gave rise to various related questions, which furnished one reason at least for the apostle's writing. The topic does not indeed form the body of the letter, but it is no unimportant part of it. The apostle himself expected the speedy advent of Christ, as we learn from 1 Cor. xv. He had preached it to this Gentile community, and it had produced a great effect upon them. The state of the converts in relation to it was one cause of his writing; and some of the general admonitions were prompted by the influence which the belief had upon their daily life. If the doctrinal element in the epistle

recedes behind the practical, and if the latter takes the form of general exhortations, the departure from Paul's accustomed mode can only be attributed to the circumstances of the case. All the churches which the apostle planted, or wrote epistles to, were not alike. If they were not, why should his letters be cast in a uniform mould? It may therefore be granted that the epistle is meagre compared with those addressed to the Romans or Galatians, without detriment to its authenticity. Can we expect the apostle to write such epistles as the Galatian and Roman ones to all other churches?

2. The chief contents of the letter are nothing but an enlarged explanation of the circumstances attending the conversion of the Thessalonians, which they themselves already knew, and which we know from the Acts of the Apostles. Thus, i. 4, etc., only tells how the apostle preached the gospel to them, and how they received it. In ii. 1 there is a more definite allusion to the circumstances in which the apostle had visited Thessalonica, and the way he had laboured among them; iii. 1 relates what had taken place shortly before, which the Thessalonians already knew. There is throughout a reference to things with which the readers were familiar, as the author himself shows by the recurring verb *know* (ii. 1, 2, 9, 11; iii. 3, 4; iv. 2).

It should be recollected that the history of the conversion of the Thessalonians is only a part of the letter, not the substance of it; that the writer's references to that event were meant to strengthen them in the faith; that the appeal to what they knew already comes from one filled with the remembrance of his presence among them; that the agreement of the account of their conversion with that in the Acts is an argument *for* rather than *against* the Pauline authorship, especially as it is not literal, as though it originated in independent authorship.

The epistle's independence of the Acts is attested

by the differences between them. According to the epistle, the church at Thessalonica consisted of Gentiles ; whereas the Acts describe its being gathered in the Jewish synagogue.

3. The passage ii. 14-16 is said by Baur and Van der Vies to have an un-Pauline stamp, and to show that the destruction of Jerusalem was past. The language about the Jews is certainly stronger than that of the apostle elsewhere, and breathes a different spirit from the epistle to the Romans. Hatred of the human race is attributed to them. Does not his description of them suit their actual relation toward all who were not of their race? They hindered the salvation of the Gentiles ; and the writer had just been rejected by his countrymen in Thessalonica and Berea. They are denounced with a bitter indignation which may only have been momentary. But do not the words, 'wrath has come upon them to the uttermost,' show that the destruction of Jerusalem was past—not necessarily, but rather that in the political state of the Jews at that time the apostle clearly foresaw their future ruin? From the process which had begun he divined their total destruction. The phraseology, 'to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved,' at which Baur stumbles, un-Pauline as he says it is and borrowed from the Acts (xiv. 1 ; xvi. 6, 32 ; xviii. 9), is nearly analogous to 2 Cor. ii. 17. The passage agrees confessedly with the Acts of the Apostles, from which source—a source partly unhistorical according to the critic in the place that supplies material for the present—it is alleged to be taken. But it is far from clear that the Acts furnished it.

4. The epistle contains plain reminiscences of other Pauline ones, especially of those to the Corinthians. In proof of this the critic gives i. 5 from 1 Cor. ii. 4 ; i. 6, from 1 Cor. xi. 1 ; ii. 4, etc., from 1 Cor. ii. 4, iv. 3, etc., ix. 15, etc., especially 2 Cor. ii. 17, v. 11. The expres-

sion *covetousness*, ii. 5, points to 2 Cor. vii. 2; *might have been burdensome*, ii. 6, *would not be chargeable*, ii. 9, point to 2 Cor. xi. 9; and ii. 7 to 1 Cor. iii. 2. In i. 8 the phrase *in every place your faith is spread abroad* resembles Rom. i. 8.

These similarities of thought and expression are too slender to show the dependence of one writer upon another. The circumstances of the Corinthian and Thessalonian churches were not very dissimilar; and the same author might employ the same thoughts and words in different epistles. The analogies are not marked enough to betray the hand of a copyist, and might be paralleled by similar ones in the epistles to the Galatians and Romans.¹

5. How can it be said of a newly-founded church that they were patterns to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia; that the report of their having received the word of the Lord had gone forth to every place, so that people could relate of them that they had turned from idolatry to the true God (i. 7, etc.)? How could the apostle say, after so short a period, that he had the most earnest longing to see them personally again (ii. 17; iii. 10)? How could the brotherly love of the Thessalonians, manifest to all the brethren in all Macedonia, be celebrated as a general virtue (iv. 9)? Were exhortations to a quiet life of labour, such as are given in iv. 11, 12, so necessary there? These questions are asked by Baur.

The answer to them depends on the right interpretation of the passages, and the assumption of a date not too soon after the church was founded. They are compatible with a year's interval.

6. The passage in iv. 14-18 respecting the resurrection of the dead, and the relation of the dead and living to the appearing of Christ, is pronounced un-

¹ See Jowett *On the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Romans, Galatians, etc.*, vol. i. p. 23 *et seq.*

Pauline by Baur; who admits, however, that it coincides with 1 Cor. xv. 52, though going far beyond it; and that it could not be urged with effect if the authenticity of the epistle were better established.

The passage implies that all Christians are to rise together at the second coming to participate in the glorious kingdom over which their Lord presides. The apostle calls their state between death and the resurrection a sleep, but as he hoped to be alive and witness that event, he is silent about the place of the intermediate state. And though the resurrection-body is not touched upon, it may be assumed that his opinion of it was that given in 1 Cor. xv., where he had still the hope of living to see the second coming. As that hope became fainter afterwards, so did his idea about the nature and assumption of the future body vary; as appears from 1 Cor. and the epistle to the Philippians. It was only in the beginning of Christianity, and in an individual church, that the destiny of the believers who died before the second advent could disturb the minds of surviving friends, as it did at Thessalonica.¹

7. The opposition which the apostle met with as gathered from ch. ii. 3-13 was personal. It is not his gospel but himself which he defends. This indicates a time before that when Judaizing Christians attacked the theological character of his preaching, calling him an enemy of the law. The disputes with the Judaists had not properly begun. According to Baur, the Jews could not have charged Paul with covetousness, deceit, vain-glory, etc., but would either have pronounced his gospel an offence, or branded him as an apostate and an enemy to the law. Hence Von Soden assumes that his defence implies heathen opponents.² The accusations of the Jews, however, should not be limited. Their persecution of him and his gospel was so violent that it could scarcely have

¹ See Baur's *Paulus*, p. 480, etc.

² *Studien und Kritiken* for 1885, zweites Heft.

been confined to two or three charges. The opposition encountered at Thessalonica was not, indeed, of the developed party character which is afterwards assumed among the Corinthians; but all the seeds of the latter were there, and he might well fear their bursting forth in dangerous forms. Perhaps some heathens joined in attacking the apostle. Yet the Jews were his chief opponents, and we cannot regard the way in which he defends himself as an argument against the authenticity of the epistle, though Van der Vies and Baur takes it so.

Too much importance is attached by Baur to uniformity of ideas and expressions as evidence of Pauline authorship. He takes four epistles, unquestionably authentic and forming a group by themselves, as the standard of measurement for groups of later and earlier origin. By this means little room is allowed for growth in the apostle's mind; nor is there latitude for the influence of that wide variety of circumstances through which he passed, of the persevering opponents he had to encounter, or of the local diversities of peoples. Probably an expression of his own throws some light on the character of his preaching at different times. 'Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more' (2 Cor. v. 16). At one time he had carnal views of Christ. He expected his personal advent as near, and preached so to the Thessalonians, who had been much agitated by the expected event. That belief necessarily involved sensuous ideas respecting the nature of his kingdom, which was to be an earthly one. Further reflection, aided by experience, led the apostle to more spiritual conceptions. For such development on the part of the apostle, Baur does not allow sufficient room. Yet nothing is more probable. The man who did so much to separate Christianity from the old religion and bring out its universal aspect—who, finding it a spiritual renewal of Judaism, raised it up into an absolute religion divested of Jewish swaddling-clothes, was surely a many-sided

thinker, whose ideas enlarged with time, becoming purer and higher. Believing so, we are prepared to find in his earliest epistles other ideas and expressions than in his later, which are not impregnated with the distinctive doctrines prominent in his contest with Judaizing Christians.

The first epistle to the Thessalonians cannot be compared with the four subsequent and larger ones, in richness of thought or importance of contents. In it Paul does not appear on the elevated platform of his apostolic consciousness, which his struggle with Christian Judaism encroaching on the territory he had won over to the truth, called forth. The ideas expressed by *righteousness, justification, justify*, the opposition of faith and works, the efficacy of Christ's death, reconciliation to God through the Mediator, circumcision and the law, the mystery of past ages, are absent. But these topics are nearly foreign to the Corinthian epistles. The character of the letter is conditioned by special circumstances. As it did not originate in causes similar to the leading letters of the apostle, it should not be measured by their pattern. If the question of circumcision does not appear, it could only arise in Jewish-Christian or mixed churches. If he speaks of one topic, the return of Christ, an event on which the hopes of Christians in the apostolic time were centred, it is a peculiarly Pauline one, as the first epistle to the Corinthians shows. Round this animating subject the interest of the Thessalonians had gathered. All the amiability of the apostle's nature towards a young church which needed the counsels of their spiritual father amid enthusiastic expectations and severe persecution, presents itself to the reader in an attractive light. He speaks against Jews as the great enemies of himself and the Thessalonians, not Judaizing Christians as afterwards, and foresees their utter destruction. Perhaps the cross of Christ had not yet filled his soul, in opposition to works of law or deeds wrought in human strength.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH AT CORINTH.

CORINTH was situated on an isthmus between the Ægean and Ionian seas. It was the capital of Achaia, noted for the Isthmian games celebrated in its neighbourhood; and for its arts, wealth, and luxury. Cicero styles it *the light of Greece*. About the year 146 B.C. it was destroyed by Mummius the Roman general. But Julius Cæsar had it rebuilt, and peopled with colonists. Its favourable situation soon secured a flourishing commerce. The city rapidly regained its former splendour, in connection with former licentiousness. The gross worship of Venus, who had a renowned temple furnished with a thousand impure priestesses, presented melancholy evidence of debasement; notwithstanding the schools of philosophy on which, to use the words of Aristides the rhetorician, one stumbled at every step. Hence Dion Chrysostom terms it a city, ‘the most licentious of all that are or have been.’¹

This city, the meeting-place of eastern and western commerce, was selected by Paul as the scene of his labours for a considerable period. The number and character of the inhabitants, added to the importance of the situation and the influx of strangers, made it desirable that Christianity should obtain a firm hold there. No station was more favourable to the diffusion of the new religion through the Roman empire. The apostle chose it as his sphere for eighteen months. Here he

¹ *Corinthiaca Oratio*, xxxvii. p. 119, vol. ii. Ed. Reiske.

worked, in company with several associates, amid the opulence, luxury, vice, and learning of the idolatrous inhabitants. As usual, he encountered opposition from the Jews who had settled in it for the purposes of traffic. Yet even among them some leading persons believed, as Crispus and Sosthenes; though the church consisted of Gentiles chiefly belonging to the poorer class, few of whom were wise, noble, or mighty.

The apostle visited the city on his second missionary journey, after he left Athens. Here he found Aquila and his wife, who had lately arrived from Italy in consequence of Claudius's decree against the Jews in Rome. Taking up his abode in the house of Aquila, he wrought at the same manual employment. Whether Aquila was a convert to Christianity before he came to Corinth, is not certain; the expression, 'a certain Jew' (Acts xviii. 2) being indefinite, and marking perhaps the nation to which he belonged. If he were already a believer in Christianity, his knowledge was imperfect, needing the enlargement and correction which the apostle would supply.

It is related in the Acts, according to the untrustworthy manner of the book, that Paul addressed himself first to the Jews at Corinth, preaching Christ in their synagogue on the Sabbath day. After Timothy and Silas arrived from Macedonia he became bolder, and testified more plainly that Jesus was the Messiah. This gave great offence to unbelievers, who contradicted and blasphemed. He therefore turned to the Gentiles and succeeded so well in leading them from error, that the Jews seized and dragged him before Gallio the Roman proconsul, accusing him of opposition to the law of Moses. But the humane governor refused to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. After this insurrection, the historian states that the apostle remained a good many days, then sailed to Syria with Aquila and Priscilla, leaving perhaps his faithful assistants, Timothy and Silas, in Corinth.

OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE.

Soon after Paul's arrival at Ephesus a second time, from Galatia, he heard of various irregularities in the conduct of the converts at Corinth, and wrote an epistle now lost, warning them against corrupt practices.

During his abode in Ephesus, he had opportunities of hearing particulars about the state of the church he had left; and the reports were still unfavourable. Some members of Chloe's household, perhaps Apollos too, who seems to have removed from Corinth to Ephesus while the apostle abode in the latter place, gave him information respecting the distractions of the community. These representations led to the resolution of taking a journey through Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem, preparatory to which he had sent Timothy and Erastus into those parts, to forward a collection for the relief of the poor Christians at Jerusalem, and to rectify the irregularities of the Corinthian church. Meanwhile messengers arrived, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, bringing a letter concerning various things, and asking different questions. By this means, he became acquainted with the contentions and disorders of the church, and was induced to write our first epistle, which was dictated perhaps to Sosthenes, and sent by the three messengers of the church. It was Paul's wish that Apollos should accompany the bearers, and use his endeavour to heal the distractions which had arisen, but he refused to go. Timothy had been despatched before the epistle was written. Had he been with the apostle, he would probably have been specified in the salutation at the commencement.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The letter was written, as we have seen, from Ephesus, when Paul was there the second time, towards

the close of his visit, and not long before Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8), A.D. 57. The subscription in D., K., L., and elsewhere states that it was written from Philippi, the origin of which may be traced to an erroneous explanation of the words in xvi. 5, 'for I do pass through Macedonia.' MS. B., but a reviser not the first hand, has the correct statement *Ephesus* in the subscription; S. has it also.

Many have discovered an allusion to the time of year in which the epistle was written, in the words, 'know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our passover was sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth' (v. 6-8). The metaphorical expressions in this passage are supposed to have been suggested by the near approach of the passover, when leaven was prohibited among the Jews. The apostle commences with a proverbial expression, meaning that as the smallest taint of sin had a tendency to spread through the mass, the Corinthian Christians should put away the old leaven of sin, that they might be holy; for Christ the true passover-lamb had been offered for them. It is probable that the passage *was* suggested by the near approach of the Jewish passover, though it may be explained without the allusion. This fixes the time of writing in the spring of A.D. 57.

STATE OF THE CHURCH WHEN PAUL WROTE.

A community of believers gathered from among the inhabitants of Corinth must have presented phenomena demanding special attention. Surrounded by prevailing immorality, it was difficult for them to realise the purity which Christianity requires. The piety of the believers

was less steady and consistent than it would have been, had their state before conversion been different. Their depraved nature continued to exert considerable power over their conduct; and they were in great danger of relapsing into former practices. Christianity does not deliver the spirit at once from sinful excesses. It lays the axe to the root of the tree; but repeated strokes are necessary to kill the growth. Regeneration is not like a sudden or magic spell; it is rather a process; for grace operates in accordance with the laws of our moral nature. The divine life is progressive and varied. We need not wonder, therefore, that the church at Corinth exhibited various disorders after Paul's departure. Some, unable to resist temptations, relapsed into old excesses; one had taken his stepmother to wife; and the majority exhibited a spirit of dissension arising out of individual preferences. Spiritual gifts were abused. The members were puffed up one against another. In the midst of these disagreeable things, the church wrote to their founder, informing him of their state, and asking his opinion on several points. He had heard from other quarters of their improprieties; and we may imagine his deep solicitude.

The greater part of the converts were Gentile Christians, as might have been expected; and the contents of the letters themselves show a predominant heathen element. But there were not wanting members that had come out of Judaism, or had imbibed Jewish ideas and prejudices, so that the apostle gave admonitions to Jewish and Gentile Christians in their mutual relations, as he does to other churches. The Cephas party mentioned in i. 12, proves that Jewish Christians were present in the Church. It is true that the Judaizing opponents of the apostle present a different aspect from the usual one. Their antagonism to Pauline Christianity did not proceed from the purely Jewish standpoint of circumcision. It had taken another direction,

through the felt necessity of accommodation to the circumstances of a Greek people, whose prejudices might be more easily disarmed by a less Jewish type of opposition. The central point of attack was apostolic authority. This smoother form of Jewish opposition was more likely to find favour in a Greek-Christian Church, than the coarser and narrower type that culminated in circumcision.

1. With respect to parties in the church, it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. It is clear that there were classes who assumed the names of different leaders; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain their characteristic features, since the epistles themselves indicate little more than their existence. There is therefore a strong temptation to construct hypotheses respecting them out of imaginary or slender materials. Probable conjecture must be summoned to aid the inquiry. Hints in the epistles, historical circumstances, scattered statements must be combined, to yield some light on the subject.

The only passage in which the parties are clearly mentioned is 1 Cor. i. 12: 'Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ.' Other places supposed to indicate them are less definite.

The first question that occurs is, How many parties are specified here? Some answer three, supposing that the Christ party consisted of neutrals who ranged themselves under no human head but took Christ alone for their master; simple-minded Christians, who remained steadfastly attached to Christ's teaching. Although this view is as old as Chrysostom, and claims support from 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23, where it is thought that the four parties are alluded to and that of Christ alone commended, it is untenable, notwithstanding the arguments of Rübiger and Pfeleiderer in its favour.¹ The words

¹ See Rübiger's *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Korintherbriefe*; and Pfeleiderer's *Urchristenthum*, p. 90.

'and ye are Christ's' allude to the members generally; and the additional clause 'Christ is God's' seems designedly to exclude any commendation of the Christ party. The phrase *Christ Himself is subject to God* cuts off the very basis of their pretensions; not that the basis was wrong in idea, but because it was applied in a schismatical spirit. The context is adverse to the hypothesis, for the thirteenth verse speaks of the first three with disapproval; and since the Christ party is classed along with them, it is involved in the general censure. The form of the expression 'Is Christ divided,' probably derived from 'and I of Christ,' leads to the inference that they as well as the rest were exposed to the charge of rending Christ's spiritual body.

Others answer that there were but two parties, properly speaking, in the Church, the Pauline and the Petrine. As the Pauline and Apollos Christians were substantially one, because both must have been Gentiles holding the same doctrines which Paul and Apollos preached; it is thought that the Petrine and Christ party were substantially the same, both Jewish Christians but taking different names. This hypothesis may be called that of Baur, for though taken from Schmidt it received freshness from his ingenious illustration. The Christ party, as he supposes, were Jewish Christians, whose object was to undermine Paul's apostolic authority and to engraft Judaism on Christianity. To show that they were intimately connected with Christ through their teachers, they assumed the appellation 'of Christ,' indicating that they followed Christ's genuine apostles. They therefore cast indirect reproach on Paul, as not a true apostle; and distinguished themselves from others as if they alone were true Christians. The state of the community they belonged to may have caused the Judaisers to keep their legal notions in the background, and to insist on that aspect of them which detracted from Paul's authority.¹

¹ *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, pp. 261-332.

Various allusions in the epistle countenance this view. Thus the apostle writes in 2 Cor. x. 7: 'If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that as he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's.' Here Paul defends his apostleship against opponents or Judaisers who seem to have claimed a relation to Christ which he had not.

The objections advanced against this hypothesis by Neander and others can neither be refuted nor made good, because the epistles contain little knowledge on the subject. The objection that *Christ* was the assumed head, not a *human* leader which the other three parties claimed, is nugatory. It has been asked, What was the use of the two appellations? Was not one sufficient? We are inclined to believe, that the Petrine and Christ party were subdivisions of one and the same class. Hilgenfeld supposes the difference between them to lie in the fact that the Christ party were direct disciples of Christ, while the Petrines were merely disciples of the apostles; and believes that he has removed the one weakness of the Baurian hypothesis in such fashion. By adding the genuine school of Christ to that of the first apostles, he gets at the two divisions of Jewish Christians who depreciated Paul.

It is needless to discuss the view of Olshausen and Guericke, that the Christ party consisted of philosophical Christians or wisdom-seeking Greeks, who constructed for themselves a peculiar form of Christian doctrine modelled according to Greek ideas. Having a written gospel of their own, they rejected all apostolic traditions. In short, they were Gnostics, who saw no more than a higher Socrates in the Redeemer. The depreciation of human wisdom in the epistle is directed against them. The number of philosophic Christians in the church must have been very small. There is no ground for assuming that the gospel had attracted the cultivated heathen at Corinth. As preached by the

apostle there, it must have repelled the persons who boasted of their wisdom. Nor is it necessary to enter into Schenkel's view, which makes the distinguishing peculiarity of the party *theosophic mysticism*. They appealed, it is thought, to an inward revelation, as Paul appealed to immediate revelations of Christ, and so, placing themselves on the same level, assailed his apostolic authority.¹ Rejecting apostolic tradition and entering into communication with Christ by visions, they ascribed inspiration to themselves. The passages 1 Cor. ix. 1; 2 Cor. x. 7, xii. 1, etc., are supposed to find their explanation in this theosophic view. Though the hypothesis is adopted by De Wette, it is improbable. As to Ewald's notion of their being Christian Essenes who exalted Christ's celibacy into a rule of life, little can be said in its favour. Rückert, Meyer, and Hofmann consider the party to have been orthodox; a hypothesis afterwards adopted by Neander. The enlargement of the parties from two to three gave rise to an earnest desire for union; and therefore a fourth tendency is said to have assumed independence of all human authority, and set itself above the rest, covering and commending itself with the name of Christ. Though this view has much plausibility, and agrees well with the supposition that the four parties are mentioned in the order of their origination (1 Cor. i. 12), it is liable to objection. Indeed, it is easy to state difficulties in the way of any hypothesis that may be advanced.

Referring the reader to Baur's masterly survey of the leading hypotheses respecting the Christ party we remark, that the sections may not have been distinctly marked. Perhaps they were not well defined, with lines of doctrine dividing them the one from the other. That they were distinguished in some way from each other, even in a doctrinal view, must be allowed; but theological peculiarities were only one element in their

¹ *De Ecclesia Corinthi primæva factionibus turbata.* Basileæ, 1838.

discords. We cannot tell how far personal attachments and antipathies may have influenced them.

The first idea occurring to the reader, is that the Christ party consisted of Jewish Christians. Those of Paul and Apollos were substantially one; and the last two should be regarded in the same light. By this means symmetry is introduced into the enumeration. But Rückert affirms, that a logical division of the members was not in the apostle's mind.¹ How does he know? Both epistles show that opponents questioned Paul's apostleship, and therefore he vindicates his claims. The Jewish Christians or Petrines did so; and 2 Cor. x. 7 leads to the conclusion that the Christ party did the same. Nothing tangible favours the belief that the latter were theosophic Christians or spiritualising Gnostics who exalted human wisdom and laid claim to a deeper knowledge which specially united them to Christ; that they inclined to merge the historical in the ideal Christ, and resolved Christianity into a spiritual essence. Such speculative or theosophic subjectivity could not have emerged among the members of the Corinthian church who belonged to the humbler and poorer class.

It is natural to suppose that the Corinthians who had been converted by Paul were most attached to *his* person, and believed in his apostolic authority. Such as had been influenced by Apollos, looked up to him with reverence. But both preached the same truth. Apollos was the more eloquent; Paul the more learned at least in Jewish literature. The former was an Alexandrian Jew, tinged with the Platonic philosophy prevalent in Egypt. This would naturally affect the manner in which he expounded Christianity, and suit the taste of Corinthians accustomed to Greek culture. He had also the advantage of succeeding the apostle; and people usually prefer the last speaker. From the twelfth verse

¹ *Der erste Brief Pauli an die Korinther u. s. w.*, I. Beilage, p. 436.

of the first chapter to the end of the fourth, the apostle refers to the Pauline and Apollos-Christians; *the wisdom of the world* contrasted with *the wisdom of God* pointing to the latter. The indirect polemics of the first four chapters, against the Apollos adherents, lead to the supposition that their head set forth the doctrines of Christianity in Alexandrian mould, in a philosophic form which challenged the attention of the cultivated. In his hands the new religion approached the wisdom propounded in schools of philosophy under the garb of artificial rhetoric. In proportion to the stress which the Apollos party laid upon *science*, the contrast between them and the Paulines would appear greater; for the apostle had determined to know nothing among the Corinthians but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. His gospel was so simple that it seemed to indicate a deficiency of culture; whereas he had refrained on purpose from the attractive language of human wisdom. The Christ preached by Paul and Apollos was the same; but their doctrine was moulded in a different form.

There is sufficient reason for believing that the followers did not closely adhere to the views of their favourite masters, but pushed them to excess. The Alexandrian type characteristic of Apollos was easily impregnated with a spiritualistic mysticism and asceticism, with a tendency to pry into the domain of angels and demons. And the apostle addressed disciples, not their assumed head.

The Cephas party consisted of Jewish Christians who did not refuse to associate with Gentile believers, and were therefore of a milder type than many of their brethren. Overstepping the exact boundary between Jewish and Gentile Christians, they still denied Paul's apostleship. Their great stumbling block was the death of Messiah on the cross, to which the apostle attached paramount importance; for they connected Messiahship with Jesus's life and work rather than his death.

The Christ party are mentioned but once in the first epistle, perhaps because they had not then appeared openly against Paul. They are referred to in the second epistle from the tenth to the twelfth chapters inclusive; and all our knowledge of them must be drawn thence. They were adventitious brethren who had come from Jerusalem as decided opponents of Paul; strict Judaisers, who vaunted their intimate fellowship with Christ. They are called overmuch apostles (xi. 5, xii. 11), false apostles (xi. 13). Their chief characteristic consisted in their boasted connection with the historical Jesus through national descent and theocratic feeling; and their fundamental dogma was perhaps christological. These men attacked the apostle not only on the ground of his putting the essence of Christ's Messianic efficacy in the death on the cross, but chiefly on the ground of his not having seen the Lord nor come into personal contact with Him. Against such presumptuous opponents, Paul asserts his official position in the strongest manner. Though they had come from Jerusalem with the sanction of James and bearing letters of commendation, they had to be withstood much more than the Cephas party because they were fanatical Judaisers. Paul charged them with preaching a different gospel from his, emphasising the fact that he had visions and revelations of Christ. If it was their boast that they had been in contact with the living Jesus, Paul asserts that he was on an equality with them, since he received revelations from him. The Christ party asserted that they were apostles and ministers of Christ, and that Paul was neither an apostle nor his true minister. The latter calls them ministers of Satan. Whether they were a party within the church at Corinth like the rest, or rather a party by the side of the others, is not clear. They were, in a sense, foreign to Corinth; and formed perhaps no integral portion of the community there.¹

¹ See Holsten's *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, Teil I, p. 196, etc. The

Some have doubted whether the parties in the church were distinguished from one another by doctrinal opinions, both because there is no necessary connection between the existence of schisms and diversities of sentiments, and because the apostle condemns the schisms without reference to doctrinal errors. But though the Corinthians disputed about the comparative excellence of their teachers, the Petrine differed from the Pauline Christians in doctrinal views. Why the apostle refrains from assigning to the respective parties the errors he condemns cannot be discovered. Perhaps those errors could not be definitely distributed, but floated more or less among all—a circumstance which suggests caution to the interpreter, lest he attempt to do what the writer himself has avoided. But we may arrive at probable conclusions respecting the inclination of the several parties to erroneous sentiments or practices noticed in the epistle. The spirit of the church was sensuous. Its standard of purity was low; its members of a heterogeneous sort. Those who divide all professing Christians into regenerate and unregenerate, or who hold that a proper church should consist of the former alone, are discountenanced by the dubious character of the Corinthian believers, many of whom were as far from modern orthodoxy as from sanctity of life. The church was disorderly and unspiritual, its elements consisting of voluptuous Greeks of the lower class, with a minority of cultivated minds to which the new religion offered few attractions. When Christianity came into contact with the Greek mind, it had to make its way slowly through modes of thought alien to its genius, which were seconded, only too strongly, by a loose morality. Idealism and sensuousness presented an uncongenial front to the doctrine

recent literature on the party is given by this writer in a note. See also Holsten's *Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus*, p. 59, etc.

that true life comes only through faith in a crucified Messiah.

In addition to the contentions of parties, other disorders existed.

2. Some had fallen into sins of uncleanness. That lewdness had become pretty general may be inferred from the words, 'It is reported commonly among you that there is fornication' (v. 1), where the adverb 'commonly'¹ refers to the whole clause, intimating that varieties of uncleanness, included in the generic term 'fornication,' existed amongst the Corinthians. The writer then proceeds to notice an extreme case of impurity, viz. unnatural intercourse between a stepson and stepmother. Whether it was one of marriage or concubinage is unimportant. The verb 'to have'² is commonly applied to the former; and that idea agrees best with v. 2, 3. Notwithstanding the scandalous nature of the act, the members of the church had not withdrawn from the society of the incestuous. The man may have pleaded the privilege of proselytes to Judaism—that conversion abolished degrees of relationship. The woman was probably a heathen. The apostle enjoins immediate exclusion from the church, and takes occasion to speak of other vices—covetousness, idolatry, railing, drunkenness, extortion, which should be dealt with in the same manner. He exhorts his readers to have no intercourse with fornicators or persons guilty of notorious vices, but to disavow their deeds, lest sin should be countenanced in the eyes of the heathen.

3. In their observance of the Lord's Supper, various abuses had crept into the practices of the Corinthian Christians. This feast consisted of two parts—a preparatory meal or *love feast* preceding the *supper* properly so called. To this love feast each brought meat and drink, of which all partook on an equal footing.

¹ ὁλως.

² ἔχειν.

The poor man shared the bounty of the rich, as if he had contributed his part of the meal; and the brethren, rich and poor, masters and slaves, exhibited a spectacle of unity to the world. But when Christian love cooled, the love feasts lost their true character. Those who brought food with them ate and drank by themselves, apart from the members whom poverty prevented from contributing. The poor, in their hunger, were compelled to look on; while the rich brethren, having more than was necessary, indulged in excess. One was hungry and another was drunken. The meal degenerated into a private feast and lost its proper significance. By such conduct the rich unfitted themselves for joining in the essential part of the transaction with spiritual discernment. From whatever source the Gentile Christians borrowed their love feasts, such meals do not seem to have prevailed in the apostolic churches generally. The apostle did not forbid them as some suppose, but wrote against their abuse. They are condemned as far as they ceased to promote Christian love, that is, as far as their original purpose was lost sight of.

4. Another impropriety committed by the Corinthian Christians consisted in appeals to heathen tribunals, showing that a generous confidence in the integrity of the brethren had given place to selfishness. It was customary for the Jews to decide disputes before tribunals of their own, a practice supposed to be based on Exodus xxi. 1,¹ and transferred perhaps from the synagogue to the Christian church. To correct these unseemly disputes before civil magistrates, the apostle reasons with the Corinthians thus: 'If the saints are to judge the world and angels themselves, they are much more competent to decide the minor affairs of the present state.' Legal disputes before heathens are censured as contrary to Christian love.

¹ 'These are the judgments which thou shalt set before them' (the Jews, not the Gentiles).

5. Some of the believers doubted or denied the truth of the resurrection. These doubts were entertained by the Apollos party. Jewish Christians, influenced by Platonic-Alexandrian ideas, rejected the gross Pharisaic notion of the identical body being raised up. We do not suppose that they denied personal immortality, for their dualistic conceptions did not affect that belief. In opposing the scepticism of these Apollonians, the apostle does not distinguish between resurrection and immortality. The number of persons who had these doubts seems to have been small. In refuting their notions, Paul begins with the cardinal fact of Christ's resurrection, and having proved its reality adopts it as the basis of his reasoning, grounding the fact of the general resurrection upon it. He then adverts to the *how* of the question, and lessens the difficulty by stating that the resurrection body will be a *spiritual* not a *natural* organism.

The apostle *heard* of these improprieties. We shall now advert to other topics, about which he had been asked by letter.

6. The subject of celibacy was one that perplexed part of the Christian church at Corinth. It is not easy, however, to discover the precise point to which their question referred, because the writer touches on several things in his answer. He speaks first of marriage generally, recommending that state to all as one preventive of fornication. At the same time, he prefers a single life for those who could purely bear it. He condemns separations and divorces, even though one of the parties were a heathen, as long as the unbeliever chooses to continue with the other. After a short digression, he turns to the unmarried, recommending them to remain single because of impending calamities; and touches at the end on the marriage of widows. What then was the particular point of inquiry? Was it, as Hofmann supposes, whether an unmarried man should entirely

abstain from sexual contact with a woman; or, as Hilgenfeld thinks, was the question whether it were not advisable that men generally, even the married, should not touch a woman? The latter is more probable. The notion of attaching undue value to celibacy was an Essene one; and the apostle, though inclined to that view, carefully limits it.

It is difficult to discover the party among whom a preference for celibacy had appeared. The Pauline Christians may have overvalued celibacy, because Paul was unmarried. But even this is doubtful, because the adherents of Paul, in after times, never insisted on a single life. An ascetic spirit had appeared among the Corinthians, leading some to argue for celibacy as a state of peculiar virtue. This disposition showed itself early in the primitive churches and arose out of temperament. Perhaps it was fostered by the Christ party and was of Palestinian origin.

While treating of the marriage relation, the apostle lays down a general maxim which deserves particular notice. In whatever situation Christianity finds an individual, it does not interfere with his external relations, nor command him to start off abruptly from former pursuits. The existing order of society was outwardly undisturbed by the new religion. This is applied to the case of slaves. Primitive Christianity did not enjoin masters to set their slaves at liberty. It prepared them to be kind and benevolent towards that class. Slaves themselves were exhorted to submit patiently to the yoke. But Paul did not undervalue civil liberty. He advised every slave to avail himself of a legitimate opportunity to obtain his emancipation. 'If thou mayest be made free, use it rather.' From this application of a general principle to the state of slaves, we infer that he looked upon the institution as unfavourable to the spirit of Christianity.

7. Another question related to the duties of Chris-

tians respecting flesh previously offered to idols. Some Gentile converts not only ate without scruple meat sold in the market, after it had been dedicated to idols, but partook of the feasts held in heathen temples, at which such flesh was set before the guests. This conduct gave offence to Jewish Christians, whose weak consciences revolted at idolatry.

In replying to the inquiry addressed to the apostle on this subject, he notices three points, as if three questions had been asked. Should a Christian eat the flesh of an animal offered in sacrifice to idols, after that flesh has been exposed for sale and purchased as food? Should a Christian accept the invitation of a friend to partake of a feast held in a heathen temple? Should a Christian go to a private entertainment and eat the flesh of animals dedicated to idols? He replies to the first in the affirmative, mentioning, however, a limit to the exercise of Christian freedom. Care must be taken not to offend a weak brother, since an action harmless in itself ceases to be indifferent when it hurts the feelings or prejudices of a tender conscience. He answers the second in the negative, because every Christian present at idol-feasts makes himself a sharer in the idolatrous worship. As to the third, he allows a Christian to eat everything set before him at a private entertainment. But if any guest should say of a particular dish, 'this meat has been offered in sacrifice to an idol,' the believer is exhorted to abstain, out of regard to the conscience of others.

This topic relates to the Pauline and Petrine parties. The weak were mainly, not exclusively, Jewish Christians, who had scruples of conscience about countenancing idolatry, and whose minds were harassed with anxiety when there was no real ground for it. The Pauline Christians, on the other hand, entertaining correct notions of freedom, joined without scruple in festive entertainments where flesh left after sacrifices was used,

and paid little regard to the uneasiness of the Petrine Christians. Very wisely does the apostle deal with the question by enforcing the law of love to modify things in themselves indifferent. That law binds the believer to act in accordance with the spiritual benefit of others.

It would be unnecessary to mention the opinion of Meyer and Hofmann, that *the weak* are *Gentile* Christians, were it not that it derives support from the critical reading of Lachmann and Tischendorf, in viii. 7, 'through being used until now to the idol eat it,' etc., meaning that their old prejudice, under whose influence they had lived till now, reasserted itself. This altered reading is not certain. As to the word translated 'a being used to,'¹ it seems an emendation to make the term 'conscience'² easier; and the changed position of 'until now'³ before the noun 'idol,' instead of after it as in the common text, is not strictly grammatical.⁴ Rejecting the proposed readings, we translate 'through conscience of the idol till now,' etc., *i.e.* through a conscientious scruple about having to do with an idol till now, are tempted to eat flesh offered up in sacrifice, because their conscience is weak. The new reading certainly favours the fact that the persons referred to were of heathen origin. The common reading is consistent with the opinion that they were Jewish Christians. We do not hold, however, that all the weak were such; as some Gentile Christians may have retained, not unnaturally, their old prejudice about the real existence of the gods they had worshipped.⁵

8. Another subject referred to the apostle, was the demeanour of females in public meetings. Misapplying Christian liberty, females appeared unveiled in a congregation of worshippers composed of both sexes; a prac-

¹ *συνήθεια*.

² *συνείδησις*.

³ *ἕως ἄπρι*.

⁴ It should be *τῇ ἕως ἄπρι συν. τ. εἰδ.*

⁵ De Wette, *Exeget. Handbuch über den ersten Brief an die Korinther*, p. 72, 2nd edition.

tice adopted in imitation of the men, who, according to Greek custom, appeared with uncovered heads. This was an improper application of their privileges, as if they stood on a perfect equality with the male sex. They even prayed and prophesied in the public assemblies unveiled. The apostle condemns the custom of removing the veil in promiscuous meetings of worshippers, as well as that of praying and prophesying in public; though he reserves his denunciation of the latter to a subsequent occasion (xiv. 34). He reminds woman of her subordination to man; showing their true relation to one another and to Christ; and indicates that the *tendency* of the custom of appearing in public meetings with uncovered heads is immoral.

9. The Corinthian church enjoyed a large measure of spiritual gifts. These were not equivalent to what are now called *miraculous*, but consisted in the elevation of the natural faculties. The excitement produced upon susceptible spirits by a new religion in the apostolic age was often extraordinary. But unworthy motives interfered with the exercise of spiritualised feelings; and their exhibition was unedifying. In an ecstatic state, the Corinthians used words inarticulate, disconnected, confused, which conveyed little meaning to the hearer, because the speakers themselves were not conscious of a meaning. The charism did not consist in the ability to speak foreign languages, as has been often supposed, but in impassioned exclamations, or in obscure, incoherent outbursts of prayer. The gift was overrated by its possessors, and used for ostentation.

The apostle enters into a minute consideration of the subject of charisms, pointing out their right use. Prophesying is preferred to speaking in tongues, because it tends to edification. Love, however, is put above all gifts.

10. Another question was whether they might soon expect the return of Apollos (xvi. 12).

11. The only other question of the Corinthian church related to a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, about which the apostle gives directions.

PAUL'S VISITS TO THE CORINTHIANS BEFORE HE WROTE
TO THEM.

It has been debated whether Paul visited Corinth once or twice before he wrote to the believers there. The Acts notice only one visit. The supposition of a second is derived from passages in the epistles themselves, from 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2; xii. 14; ii. 1; xii. 21; 1 Cor. xvi. 7. As the two visits must have preceded the first epistle, because the second could not have happened between the first and second epistles, passages from both epistles are relevant.

‘This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare’ (2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2). These words plainly express the idea that the writer purposed to pay the readers a third visit.

‘Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you; for I seek not yours, but you,’ etc. (2 Cor. xii. 14). The meaning is the same as before. The apostle was ready to visit them the third time. The preceding context—‘for what is it wherein ye were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? Forgive me this wrong’—contains keen irony, and agrees best with the supposition that the writer had been at Corinth twice. The greater the number of his visits during which he had received no maintenance from the people, the severer his irony.

2 Cor. ii. 1 is less explicit. ‘I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heavi-

ness.' The apostle had not gone to them in sorrow, as we learn from Acts xviii. 1 ; neither can it be said that he was humbled on the occasion of his first visit (xii. 21). A subsequent and sorrowful visit is therefore implied. 'For I will not see you now by the way ; but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit' (1 Cor. xvi. 7). These words intimate that his next visit would be of some length, compared with the passing one he had last paid. The first was nearly two years, and therefore he must have been again with them for a short time.

But 2 Cor. i. 15, 16, presents an apparent objection to this view. 'And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit ; and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way towards Judea.' If two visits to Corinth are presupposed elsewhere, why should he speak of *one* benefit conferred by his personal presence ? Why not intimate *two* benefits, and so mention a *third*, 'that ye might have a third benefit ?' This reasoning is plausible but not conclusive. To meet it, we need not assume, with Bleek,¹ after Chrysostom, that a *second* benefit is equivalent to a *second* joy. The apostle speaks of an intended journey, before the sending of his first epistle ; and the second benefit refers to his second presence with them, after returning from Macedonia, as is expressed in the sixteenth verse. It leaves out of account the apostle's first abode at Corinth, and alludes solely to his purpose of seeing the Corinthians, on his return from Macedonia, as well as on his way to it. This is better than to suppose that, during the apostle's residence at Corinth of eighteen months, he had gone into the neighbouring districts, and returned to Corinth, so that in one sense he had been there twice, in another

¹ In the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830, p. 614, *et seq.*

only once; in which case he could speak of another visit, either as the third or second.

In view of all that has been said in favour of the second visit by Bleek and Holsten,¹ Pfleiderer, and others, we cannot but assent. Difficulties in its way have been forcibly urged by Baur; but they are not insuperable.

THE FIRST EXTANT EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS, NOT THE FIRST WHICH THEY RECEIVED FROM THE APOSTLE.

We have assumed that the present epistle was preceded by a lost one, on the basis of v. 9, 'I wrote unto you *in the epistle*,' etc. These words are rendered either, 'I have written to you in this epistle,' or, 'I wrote to you in that epistle.' In the former case, they refer to the letter he was writing; in the latter, to one he had written. We demur to the view that the aorist of the verb² may be translated here, 'I have written.' The only correct version of it is, 'I wrote.' Bishop Middleton³ refers to various places where the article conveys the sense, 'the *present* epistle;' but none is pertinent, because that expression occurs at the end of the writing. *The epistle* can only mean the present epistle after it is all but written, not when it is towards the beginning. That the same phrase may mean *a former epistle*, is shown by 2 Cor. vii. 8.

It is impossible to find the part to which the writer alludes, if *the letter* means that which he was then writing. The reference is neither anticipative, as Lardner and others suppose, nor is it to the verses immediately preceding.⁴ No part of the context contains an injunc-

¹ *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, Teil i. p. 187, etc.

² ἔγραψα.

³ *The Doctrine of the Greek Article*, Rose's ed. p. 324.

⁴ The aorist ἔγραψα may stand for the present γράφω; but the New Testament usage of it in this way cannot be fairly shown. The nearest approach to it is the reference to a group of verses just completed, in

tion not to company with fornicators, for the whole exhibits no more than a general exhortation to purity, and an expectation, on the writer's part, that his readers should not delay to excommunicate the notorious offender. Supposing that the reference is to the second verse, or to the fifth, sixth, and seventh verses of the chapter, what is the use of the phrase *in the epistle*?

The opinion that a lost epistle is referred to, which the words themselves justify, gave rise to two apocryphal ones: one purporting to proceed from the Corinthians, the other from St. Paul. They were published in Armenian with a Latin translation by Wilkins;¹ and in the same year by Philipp Masson in Armenian and Latin;² Fabricius also gave them in Latin and Greek, in the third part of his 'Codex Apocryphus N. T.' They were inserted by Whiston in his collection of authentic records belonging to the Old and New Testament, in Latin, English, and Arabic, with a defence of their authenticity.³ His two sons afterwards edited them in Armenian, Greek, and Latin, as an appendix to their edition of Moses Choronensis's history.⁴ The best and most complete translation is that made by Father Aucher and Lord Byron, published in Moore's life of the latter.⁵ The letters are manifest forgeries, not earlier than the eleventh century. It is strange that their authenticity should have found a second defender in Rinck, whereas Whiston's own sons hesitated to accept it.

1 Cor. ix. 15; 1 John. ii. 21, 26; v. 13. See Winer's *Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament*, § 40, p. 278, Thayer's translation.

¹ Amsterdam, 1715, 4to.

² *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres*, vol. x. p. 150, *et seq.*

³ Part ii. p. 585, etc., 1719.

⁴ 1736, 4to., London, p. 371, etc.

⁵ Vol. vi. pp. 274, 275.

AUTHENTICITY.

The authenticity of the first epistle to the Corinthians has not been called in question except by Bruno Bauer and the Dutch writers Pierson and Loman. Early Christian writers always assigned the work to Paul. Clement of Rome, the Pseudo-Ignatius, and Polycarp quote or allude to it, perhaps also Justin Martyr. The first writes: 'Take up the epistle of the blessed apostle Paul; what did he first write to you in the beginning of the gospel? Of a truth he wrote to you by the Spirit concerning himself, and Cephas and Apollos, because you had even then formed parties.'¹ Ignatius says: 'It is becoming, therefore, that in every way you should glorify Jesus Christ, who has glorified you; that in one obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing of the same thing.'² And again: 'The cross, which is a stumbling-block to unbelievers, but to us salvation and eternal life. Where is the wise? Where is the disputer? Where is the boasting of them who are called prudent?'³ The supposititious Polycarp has the following: 'Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world, as Paul teaches?'⁴ Again: 'Neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom

¹ Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν, περὶ αὐτοῦ τε, καὶ Κηφᾶ τε, καὶ Ἀπόλλω, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσαις ὑμᾶς πεποιθῆσθαι.—*Ep. ad Cor.* c. 47. Comp. also 1 Cor. x. 24 with ch. xlviii.; xii. 12 with ch. xxxvii.; xiii. with ch. xlix.; xv. 20 with ch. xxiv.; ii. 9 with ch. xxxiv.

² Πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ᾗτε κατηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—*Ad Ephes.* c. 2.

³ Ὁ ἐστὶν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία, καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητής; ποῦ καύχησης τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν;—*Ad Ephes.* c. 18.

⁴ Ἡ οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν;—*Ad Philipp.* c. 11.

of God,' etc.¹ Justin Martyr writes: 'For Christ was the passover, who was afterwards sacrificed,' etc.² Irenæus is the first author who expressly cites the epistle as Paul's: 'This also the apostle (Paul) manifestly shews in the epistle addressed to the Corinthians, saying: "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant how that all our fathers were under the cloud,"' etc.³ So too Athenagoras: 'It is therefore manifest that, according to the apostle, this corruptible must put on incorruption.'⁴ Clement of Alexandria has: 'The blessed Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians has solved the question, when he writes thus: "Brethren, be not children in understanding,"' etc.⁵ Tertullian has the following passage: 'Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of them who denied or doubted a resurrection.'⁶ It was also in Marcion's canon.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The epistle may be divided into four parts, viz. i. 1-iv. 21; v. 1-xi. 1; xi. 2-xiv. 40; xv. xvi.

1. This section relates to the party divisions in the church, which the writer censures and endeavours to heal.

¹ Καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε मुलाकी, οὔτε ἀρσενικοῦται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα.—*Ad Philipp.* c. 5.

² Ἦν γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τυθεὶς ὕστερον.—*Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 374, ed. Thirlby.

³ 'Et hoc autem Apostolum in epistola quæ est ad Corinthios manifestissime ostendisse, dicentem: Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, etc.'—*Adv. Hæres.* iv. 273, p. 1059, ed Migne.

⁴ Εὐδὴλον παντὶ τὸ λειπόμενον, ὅτι δεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο καὶ διασκεδαστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, ἵνα, κ.τ.λ.—*De Resurrect. Mort.* 18, p. 266, ed. Otto.

⁵ Σαφέστατα γοῦν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἀπῆλλαξεν ἡμᾶς τῆς ζητήσεως ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ, ὡδὲ πως γράφων· Ἀδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, κ.τ.λ.—*Pædagog.* i. p. 118, ed. Potter.

⁶ 'Paulus in prima ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis.'—*De Præscript. Hæreticorum*, c. 93.

After the usual salutation the apostle congratulates his readers on their reception of the gospel, accompanied with abundant gifts and graces. He beseeches them to be united in love, instead of being divided into contending parties; thanks God that he had furnished no ground for undue attachment to his person, since he had baptized very few, his chief object being to preach. The believers are warned against worldly wisdom, as opposed to the gospel where all true wisdom centres in the cross (i. 1-31).

He describes how he had preached the crucified One among them, not according to the forms of learning or philosophy but in unadorned simplicity, lest his success should seem due to human eloquence. The fleshly man cannot discern excellency or wisdom in such a theme; to him it is foolishness: it is only he that has the Spirit of God and therefore spiritual discernment, who receives and comprehends it as the highest wisdom (ii.).

The Corinthians had made so little progress in piety that the apostle could not address them as spiritual Christians. To this he attributes their aberrations and divisions; for instead of attaching themselves solely to Christ, they had shown undue partiality to human instrumentality. But none other foundation can be laid than Christ himself; and every one must look to the nature of the materials which he builds up, lest the structure prove unable to stand the fiery test of the great day (iii.). For himself, he was perfectly convinced of his apostolic calling, and was comparatively indifferent to the opinions of men, from whom he had not sought the praise due to faithful stewards of the divine mysteries. The sufferings he had to endure were the true proof of his apostleship and disinterestedness. His self-denying labours are alluded to not for the purpose of upbraiding his readers, but to show the disinterestedness required in preachers of the gospel. Whatever instructors they had, *he* was their spiritual

father; and he beseeches them to follow none other gospel than what they had received from his lips (iv.).

2. The second part is occupied with matters that concerned the private rather than the public relations of the Corinthian converts but not exclusively.

The apostle condemns his readers for associating with an incestuous person, whom he commands them to expel from the church, and have no intercourse either with him or any immoral member (v.). He censures them for taking their disputes before heathen tribunals, instead of settling them by mutual arbitration. So far from bearing injuries patiently, they had injured others. But such practices must preclude admission into the kingdom of heaven. Though they had been great sinners in their heathen state, Christianity demands purity; and a believer's body must be holy, because it is the temple of the Holy Spirit (vi.). In the seventh chapter he answers the question that had been addressed to him respecting marriage, touching on various collateral topics not included perhaps in the letter. The subject of Christian liberty is next treated, with special reference to the use of flesh once dedicated to idols. Here he presents himself as an example to the Corinthians, whence they might perceive how he had abstained from lawful enjoyments, in order to recommend the gospel more effectually, by accommodation to the wants and even the prejudices of others. He did not avail himself of his Christian liberty to the full extent; he had not married; he had taken from them no temporal support, but had laboured with his hands to supply his necessities (ix.). The melancholy effects of abusing freedom are shown in the history of the Israelites; and the Corinthians are warned lest they too should be overtaken in a false security (x. 1-xi. 1).

3. The third division treats of the public relations of Christians.

Here the apostle condemns irregularities existing

among the Corinthians in the worship of God, such as the appearing of females in their assemblies with uncovered heads, whereas a becoming distinction should be observed between males and females in this particular, as a token of the latter's modesty and subjection (xi. 2-16). Abuses connected with the Lord's supper are also censured, the apostle expounding the mode of its institution as he had received it by revelation (17-34). How far he has changed the simple original, which was merely an impressive memorial of the last supper Jesus partook of with his disciples, it is difficult to say. He has at least imparted to it a mystic character, a kind of magical influence, by which the believer is drawn close to his living Head. It becomes an act of worship, to be often observed by the church because of its uniting power to the exalted Christ. He proceeds to consider the gift of tongues, and the relation it bears to similar gifts generally, affirming that every one who speaks in the spirit acknowledges Jesus to be the Lord—that such confession proves him to have received the spirit, who is manifested in various ways. All charisms have one object, the edification of the church. None should be preferred above another, since all are necessary; just as the different members of the body have each an important function to perform (xii.). This unity of spiritual gifts, both in their origin and object, commends the great principle of love, which is above them all, and without which they are valueless. Here the writer graphically describes the nature of love, representing it, with faith and hope, as one of the three cardinal virtues, and preferring it even to them (xiii.). After this he speaks of the two gifts of tongues and prophesying, showing that the former should not be exercised indiscriminately, since it is useless unless accompanied with interpretation; while the other is intelligible by itself (xiv. 1-33). Women are enjoined to be silent in churches; and all things should be con-

ducted with propriety and order in the public meetings of the saints (34-40).

4. The fourth part relates to the resurrection, which some in the church denied; and concludes with a few general directions.

The fifteenth chapter discusses the doctrine of the resurrection, asserting its necessary connection with the leading truths of Christianity. The apostle affirms the inseparable union between Christ's resurrection and that of believers. He rests his argument for a general resurrection on Christ's rising from the dead, showing with what intensity of belief he held the latter. All faith he holds to be vain unless Christ rose from the dead. His reasoning is of the passionate kind so conspicuous in the epistle to the Romans, in which the heart controls the head. Whatever be thought of its conclusiveness, it has its value to the Christian of every age, teaching him that intensity of conviction accompanied by supreme love to God and man, ennobles its subject. An illustration borrowed from the organism of plants, to prove that a resurrection of the body is consistent with reason and nature, so far from implying that the same body rises, indicates the reverse. The three verses 39-41 also suppose that the same body will not appear again. The analogy of multiplied and varied organisations in nature shows diversity. The flesh of animals; heavenly and earthly bodies; the splendour of the sun, moon, and stars are different; why should the resurrection body not follow analogy? The distinction between the earthly and the resurrection body is summed up in the phrases, *psychical body* and *pneumatic body*, which convey no definite ideas. In the one, *psyche*, i.e. *animal life*, is predominant; in the other, *pneuma*, spirit rules, and *psyche* has ceased to rule. The psychical body, the seat of animal life, buried in dishonour and weakness, is raised a spiritual body, the organisation of the soul. The continuity in

the one tenement being resumed in another form, presupposes a germ that is differently developed in the latter. But the apostle's ideas of the resurrection are deficient in precision.

In the same chapter, the apostle also contrasts the heavenly with the earthly Adam, saying that as we have borne the image of the latter (*i.e.* the body of this death), we shall also bear the image of the former (*i.e.* a spiritual body). In accordance with this teaching the heavenly man or archetypal Adam was sent by the Father into the world and assumed an earthly body; in other words, appeared in the likeness of sinful flesh, so that without being a fleshly man himself he was liable to temptation because of his human body. The earthly man or first Adam had not an immortal spirit; he was nothing but a *living soul* with a body of dust, and as such subject to death. Having this head and representative, men are nothing but *flesh* and *spirit*; ¹ beings in whom the breath of life is joined to matter; ² without the spirit of God, ³ which is a principle first imparted when they are united to Christ by regeneration. In this respect Paul differs from Philo; for the latter supposes that man has the divine spirit ⁴ from the beginning, so that he can subdue the flesh if he will. The apostle thinks that he has neither will nor power to do so till he is formed after the image of the second Adam.

The heavenly or archetypal man proceeded from God, a luxurious efflux of His essence, an image of His substance, a *pneumatic* personality. Being thus essentially *spirit*, ⁵ his person consisting of an immaterial light-substance or glory, ⁶ the glory of God reflected in him so that his essence is spirit and light, he is called a *life-giving spirit*; corresponding to Philo's heavenly, or Plato's ideal, man. This he became as soon as he

¹ σὰρξ and ψυχὴ.

⁴ πνεῦμα θεῖον.

² πνοὴ ζωῆς το χοῦς.

⁵ πνεῦμα, 2 Cor. iii. 17.

³ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ.

⁶ δόξα.

existed. How opposite is this doctrine to that of the Clementine Homilies! The Jewish Christian writer says that man has a holy spirit,¹ and that he is endowed with free will to choose good or evil, as also with power to lead a holy life. Pelagian sentiments like these are a complete contrast to those of Paul.

It is also observable, that the death of Adam and of all mankind through him, is spoken of, not as the consequence of his sin but of a fleshly, earthly body (xv. 44-47). On the contrary, Adam's sin is stated to be the cause of his own bodily death and that of all his posterity, in the fifth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. In 1 Cor. sin and death are represented as inherent in the body; they belong to its essence; in Romans they are superinduced by human action, the infliction of punishment for transgression of a divine command. Are these statements consistent, or can they be combined so as to make a united part of the Pauline theology of what is called original sin? We agree with Fritzsche and Pfeiderer in thinking them irreconcilable. The two elements included by the apostle in his doctrinal system cannot be harmonised. Borrowed from separate sources, Pharisaism and Hellenism, they hang loosely side by side.

The last chapter recommends a contribution for the poor at Jerusalem, speaks of the writer's intended journey to Corinth, subjoins admonitions, and concludes with salutations (xvi.).

The apostle, who had himself founded the Corinthian church, specially loved it and nurtured it with uncommon care. The relations between the spiritual father and his offspring were intimate and confidential. His experiences among these converts were diversified, his difficulties peculiar; and the human side of his individuality is seen in what he writes to them more clearly than in any other epistle. His practical sagacity,

¹ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

spiritual insight, tact, and delicacy were called into exercise by the weighty problem to be solved—the planting of a new religion in Greek soil. Experiences among the people prepared him for dealing with them wisely, and for applying Christian principles to the full reality of concrete life.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

ACCOUNT OF THE APOSTLE BETWEEN THE WRITING OF THE FIRST AND SECOND EXTANT EPISTLES.

WE have assumed that Timothy did not go as far as Corinth, but returned from Macedonia to Ephesus without a report of the affairs at Corinth. There is no mention of his visiting Corinth in 2 Cor. xii. 18, although it might have been looked for there; nor is it alluded to in Acts xix. 22. It is said, indeed, in explanation, that as Timothy is associated with the apostle in writing the epistle, a notice of his mission in the third person would have been inappropriate; but Timothy is associated with Paul in the Philippian letter, which contains notices in the third person notwithstanding (ii. 19). Nor can it be urged that some remark and apology would have appeared in this epistle, if the journey had been abandoned, as long as we are ignorant of the circumstances which induced Timothy to stop short of Corinth. No charge of fickleness could have been founded upon a journey carried out only in part; at least against the apostle, as long as he had sent Timothy. If the messenger was disheartened, and feared to proceed to Corinth, or if he saw fit to return sooner than he had purposed, the sender could not be held responsible.

Between the first and second extant epistles the apostle sent Titus to the Corinthians. Did he bear a letter on the occasion?

It is difficult to make all parts of the second epistle fit in with the first, though some find mutual consistency. The words of ii. 3, 4 imply that a severe epistle had been sent to the Corinthians; though Rückert and others find passages in 1 Cor., such as iii. 16, 17, iv. 18–21, v. 1, etc., vi. 8, xi. 17, etc., to which the severity refers.

But 2 Cor. ii. 5–8 and vii. 8–12 can hardly apply to the case of the incestuous man in the first epistle. They do not recognise or justify the allusion. And it is remarkable that notwithstanding such notices of Timothy as those in 1 Cor. iv. 17 and vi. 10, 11, his arrival at Corinth and return to Paul with an unfavourable report are unmentioned. The balance of evidence inclines to the assumption of a severe letter which Titus took with him.

After Titus left the apostle with a letter to the Corinthians, a violent uproar arose at Ephesus. The success attending his preaching alarmed the selfishness of Demetrius, whose lucrative employment was to manufacture small models of the temple of Artemis. Perceiving that his craft was in danger, this artisan called his workmen together, and easily inflamed their minds against the man whose teaching brought the goddess into disrepute. In consequence of his representations, the artificers ran tumultuously through the city, filling it with confusion. Seizing Aristarchus and Gaius, they hurried them away to the theatre. At length the populace drew forth Alexander from among the multitude; the Jews also putting him forward, that he might exonerate them, by throwing blame on the Christians. But the people would not hear him when they understood that he was a Jew; because Jews as well as Christians were considered enemies to the heathen gods.

When the ignorant rabble had exhausted their fury, the recorder of the city addressed them, quieting their

turbulence by reminding them of the illegality of their conduct and the hazard they ran of being called to account. So the meeting dispersed.

If we believe that the apostle wrote a severe letter to his converts at Corinth, and that Titus was sent with it to them after his master's brief visit, has it been lost, or may it *still* be joined to an *extant* epistle?

UNITY OF THE EPISTLE.

The unity of the second canonical letter has been questioned by many. Semler had his doubts of it; and Schleiermacher shared them. Three adverse things are mentioned by the latter.¹

1st. There are opposite statements respecting Titus. Paul requests for him a good reception among the Corinthians (viii. 23, 24); but he asks again, 'Did Titus make a gain of you? Walked we not in the same spirit? Walked we not in the same steps?' (xii. 18).

2nd. There are opposite statements respecting the apostle himself, as if he were now for the first time on the point of coming out of Macedonia (ix. 4), and again, as if he had been already at Corinth a second time (xii. 14; xiii. 1, 2), the latter of which cannot be reconciled with the narrative in the Acts.

3rd. A very different tone prevails at the beginning and end of the epistle. From being laudatory and mild, it becomes severe and harsh.

The epistle cannot be looked upon as a connected whole. There are phenomena which countenance the prevailing critical view, such as the dissimilarity of the tenth chapter to what precedes; and the tone of the last four chapters beginning with the words, 'Now I Paul myself.' The disjointed character is noticeable enough; and unity is not justified by its defenders.

¹ *Einleitung ins neue Testament*, pp. 154, 155.

The transition from the ninth to the tenth chapter is abrupt, and the writer's tone changes. Hitherto the apostle had complimented his readers, and expressed his satisfaction with their state. He had insinuated delicate flattery and gentle praise, mingled with some regret that he had perhaps been too severe. Now he assumes a different style of address and becomes severe, asserting his authority, making a scornful comparison of his labours with those of others, and launching immoderate recriminations. The Corinthians, who had been described before as longing for the presence of their beloved teacher, are said to charge him with faults and feebleness. In the one part of the letter, they are praised for their Christian virtues; in the other, they are presented in different colours. This discrepancy between the contents has exercised the ingenuity of interpreters; for the transition from praise to invective is striking and sudden.

EFFECTS OF PRIOR EPISTLES ON THE CHURCH AT CORINTH.

Leaving Ephesus, Paul proceeded to Troas, where he was disappointed in not meeting Titus, and repaired to Macedonia. Here the messenger returned from Corinth, with a report satisfactory in the main. The letter had produced a salutary impression on the church. The members generally had acknowledged Paul's authority, and evinced their readiness to obey his commands. They expressed regret on account of irregularities, and were anxious to be reconciled to their spiritual father. The incestuous person had been treated according to the will of the apostle; for though the majority had not actually excommunicated him, they had recorded a sentence against him agreeing with Paul's. The apostle expresses his satisfaction with their resolution. The better portion of the people lamented their past con-

duct and wished for Paul's return. The intelligence communicated by Titus was so agreeable that the author exults in gratitude to God. 'Now thanks be unto God, which always causes us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place.' But all were not reduced to this state of mind. Corruptions existed which could not be removed in a day. The love of party lingered among them. The disposition to submit to the apostle's decisions and welcome him back, was not universal. Even in the laudatory passages, side glances at detractors appear. While praising the many, those who continued to thwart him are not wholly lost sight of.

INSINUATIONS AGAINST THE APOSTLE.

The insinuations derogatory to the writer, to which he alludes in the letter by way of refutation or self-defence, are these :—

(a) He had said that he intended to proceed directly from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and returning to Corinth, to stay till his departure for Jerusalem. The distracted state of the church induced him to change his purpose, because he was unwilling to treat them with severity. This alteration of plan his enemies turned to his disadvantage, charging him with fickleness, and inferring that his doctrine could be as little relied on as his promises.

(b) They also accused him of vainglory and ostentation, because he spoke of himself so much. They did not distinguish between the grace of God and the human instrument.

(c) These opponents directed attention to the contemptibleness of his person, contrasting the severity of his letters with the weakness of his body and worthlessness of his speech. They intimated that he threatened

what he could not and would not perform; that however formidable when absent, he was really timid. Being afraid to come, he preferred to threaten at a distance.

(d) His opponents seem to have reproached him with preaching a mysterious veiled gospel, deficient in the simplicity of that proclaimed by the primitive apostles. He had said, 'we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom' (1 Cor. ii. 7); which may have been taken as the foundation of their charge; and he now writes in reply, 'If our gospel be hid, it is hid to the perishing' (2 Cor. iv. 3).

(e) One had come to Corinth with the sanction of some of the early apostles, preaching Ebionite Christianity in opposition to Paul (xi. 4). This new teacher led the apostle to affirm, that he had equal authority with the super-apostles, and that he preached the same Jesus. We cannot agree with Ewald, Holtzmann, and Haus-rath in identifying the new teacher with one of the twelve apostles whom the Judaisers had invited to Corinth.

Such are the principal charges combated. They may not have been advanced directly or openly; but they were made with persevering enmity, and proceeded from Judaisers, probably the Christ-party. In x. 11 *one* is singled out; in the 12th verse the party is called *some*.

OCCASION AND OBJECT.

The preceding observations show the occasion on which the epistle was written. The writer's heart was moved with feelings of affection and hope, from the time he had sent his sharp epistle, till Titus's return from Corinth with a report of the state of the church, favourable on the whole. His leading object was to establish his apostolic reputation, and to restore the erring to submission.

The manner in which he tries to accomplish the end is shown by the outline of the letter. Making a distinction between the church generally and the disturbers of its peace, he praises the former, as far as he could with truth; for it was his endeavour to convince them of their faults, and win them to entire obedience. Beginning with an address to the church generally, so that he could speak in mild terms, he commends their manifestation of repentance and obedience. Praise is bestowed on the whole body; no separation is made between the better and the more corrupt members. The writer expresses the same affection for all, and entertains good hopes of them. He proceeds to speak of himself, his life, sufferings, labours, and hopes, presenting the picture of a man deeply conscious of the importance of his office, and pursuing its duties with singular earnestness. The patriot, marked by the absence of vainglory, but by dignity and consciousness of divine power, attracts the reader's admiration. The description flows from a full heart, without the semblance of rhetorical arrangement. The only skill seen is the result of warm outpourings from a heart intensely alive to the cause of truth.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The epistle was written in Macedonia (ii. 13; vii. 5; ix. 2-4), at *Philippi*, according to the subscription; which place is also in the Vatican MS. (but not from the original writer), in the Peshito, in K. L., and many other copies. This is improbable, because he had travelled farther in Macedonia than the place where it is likely he landed, as he speaks of the progress which the churches of the province had made in furthering the collection for the poor (viii. 1, etc.). Besides, he had waited in vain for the arrival of Titus in Macedonia (vii. 5), and anxiety did not allow of a long stay

in Philippi, since his object was to go to Corinth immediately. Others, supposing Troas to have been its birthplace, appeal to 2 Cor. ii. 12; though the passage in its connection with the next verse, proves that Paul had left Troas. Nothing in the epistle favours one locality in Macedonia more than another. Some even think that it was not all written in one place, but at different times and localities on several journeys—an opinion founded on a view of the letter as being loose and disjointed.

The exact time of writing cannot be determined. Perhaps it was soon after the first epistle, as various circumstances show; among which we may reckon the allusion to Paul's great peril at Ephesus (2 Cor. i. 4–10), caused by Demetrius—a fact which had happened recently. De Wette, however, disallows the reference of the passage to Acts xix. 23, etc., on the ground that his life was not then in imminent danger, thinking that if Ephesus had been meant, he would have said so, instead of 'in Asia.' Others, as Rückert, have thought of a *severe sickness* which the apostle had had, a hypothesis favoured by some expressions but disagreeing with others. The treatment which Paul received in Ephesus, as far as it is described by the historian, seems insufficient to explain the strong language used towards the beginning of this epistle. It is therefore likely that something occurred which we do not know. Perhaps he had suffered bodily injuries in the streets of Ephesus, where he had been hunted and thrown down, as may be inferred from iv. 8–10; and still felt the effects of the violence to which he had been subjected. The language implies that his life had been in danger. The letter was composed towards the conclusion of the year in which the first was written, A.D. 57, some time before Paul's three months' sojourn in Achaia. A year did not elapse between the two. The phrase 'a year ago' is too indefinite to have that exact meaning (2 Cor. viii.

10). The bearers were Titus and two brethren, one of whom was chosen by the Macedonian churches to convey the contribution to Jerusalem. The brother, 'whose praise is in the gospel throughout the churches,' is usually identified with Luke. Others suppose Silas or Silvanus; and De Wette proposes Trophimus. It is likely that the brother was unknown to the Corinthians and subordinate to Titus, a circumstance which excludes Luke.

The same uncertainty rests on the other companion of Titus, spoken of in the 8th chapter. He was probably Sosthenes, as Burton thinks.¹

This epistle is not compact but loosely put together in different parts. There is an awkward break at vi. 14, where the connection is interrupted, being resumed at vii. 2. The paragraph (vi. 14–vii. 1) may be the addition of a later hand, for it has the appearance of an interpolation. The seventh chapter looks as though the epistle might have ended there; the eighth is a sort of appendix to it; and the ninth, continuing the subject of the eighth, begins with the conjunction *for*. Thus there are breaks to show that the writer was interrupted during the composition of the letter; or that he was agitated and disturbed.

It was an ingenious conjecture of Hausrath's, approved by Schmiedel, that we have either a part or the whole of the supposed lost letter sent by Titus to the Corinthians, in the concluding chapters of the second canonical epistle. The contents agree with his language already referred to, and the conjecture is probable,² notwithstanding Hilgenfeld's opposition to it. We have, therefore, to detach 2 Cor. x.–xiii. from its present position, and place it before chapters i.–ix.; the latter, carried by Titus to the Corinthians as an inde-

¹ *Theological Works*, vol. iv. p. 84.

² See Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, zweite Auflage, p. 302.

pendent letter, bearing in all probability a somewhat different form from that of the four chapters, especially in the conclusion.

DICTION AND STYLE.

The language of the epistle is severely criticised by Eichhorn and Emmerling. It cannot be denied that the mode of writing is rugged and awkward, harsher, obscurer, and looser than in Paul's other writings. Parentheses and digressions intersect the narrative, and disturb its sequence. Sentences are broken off, without any apparent reason for the interruption; and the tone is sometimes inflated. The epistle has not the ease or smoothness of the first. Examples may be seen in v. 1-4, where there is a mixture of figures and some confusion of ideas. Other passages, as i. 3-7; x. 12-16, show a consciousness of obscurity in the mind of the writer, causing synonymous expressions, and prolixity without clearness. The sense of viii. 11 is obscure; so much so, that an inversion of the clauses has been assumed. Chap. vii. ver. 8 is awkwardly expressed, and the true meaning dark. In i. 11 the construction is doubtful and imperfect; xi. 6 is difficult, and some words are not in the same order as in Phil. iv. 12. Though the case has been overstated by Eichhorn and Emmerling, a careful reader sees enough to convince him that the style and diction are inferior to Paul's usual mode. Roughness, obscurity, looseness, careless constructions, are frequent. The haste with which the letter was written, and the intense emotions agitating the apostle's bosom, as he travelled from place to place in Macedonia, help to explain the phenomena. The ideas are worthy of the great apostle; though they are clothed in a negligent garb. He never writes good Hellenistic Greek; but he was capable of expressing his conceptions in smooth and appropriate language. If

he did not on this occasion, it arose from peculiar circumstances.

Rückert takes a very favourable view of the whole epistle, in structure, language, and adaptation to its object, pronouncing it a true masterpiece of rhetorical art; a judgment which errs as much on one side as Eichhorn's does on the other. In like manner, Meyer speaks of 'the oratorical art' conspicuous in the epistle, an expression liable to convey an erroneous idea, unless it be strictly defined; for, in one sense, there is an absence of art. The rhetoric is powerful and sharp, but it has no studied arrangement. Without art, it produces all the impression and more, of rhetoric fashioned after the most approved models. The letter is a spontaneous effusion, dictated in haste, unrevised; often irregular; uneven, inelegant; sometimes inflated, yet having remarkable delicacy; weighty, striking, severe.

AUTHENTICITY.

The authenticity of the letter has not been questioned except by Bruno Bauer. It is confirmed by the contents of the first (canonical) epistle and is abundantly attested by early witnesses.

Irenæus writes: 'Paul has plainly said in the second to the Corinthians, "In whom the God of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers."' ¹

Clement of Alexandria has the following: 'The apostle calls the common doctrine of the faith a savour of knowledge in the second to the Corinthians, for until this day the same veil remains,' etc.² Again: 'Hence also Paul—Ye have these promises, says he, dearly

¹ 'Quod autem dicunt, aperte Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios dixisse: "In quibus deus seculi hujus excæcavit mentes infidelium."'—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 7, § 1.

² Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς γνώσεως ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν δὲ κοινὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς πίστεως ὁσμήν γνώσεως ἔειρκεν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους, "Ἀχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα, κ.τ.λ.—*Stromata*, iv. c. 16, p. 608, ed. Potter.

beloved ; let us cleanse our hearts from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.’¹

Tertullian writes : ‘ For indeed they suppose that the apostle Paul in the second of the Corinthians forgave the same fornicator who he had declared in the first ought to be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh.’²

Cyprian has the following : ‘ Likewise the blessed apostle Paul, full of the inspiration of the Lord, “ Now he that ministereth,” says he, “ seed to the sower, will both minister bread,”’ etc.³

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The present epistle, which properly consists of two, may be divided into two parts : 1. i.-vii. ; 2. viii. ix. ; x.-xiii. forms an independent letter.

The first part contains the apostle’s utterances respecting his personal fortunes, purposes, feelings, and desires during the interval between the former epistle and the present ; allusions to the long-expected and favourable accounts he had received of the believers by Titus, and assertion of the dignity of his apostolic office, with the disinterested manner in which he had fulfilled it among the Corinthians.

The following paragraphs are contained in it : i. 3-14 ; 15-24 ; ii. 1-11 ; 12-17 ; iii. ; iv.-vi. 10 ; vi. 11-vii. 16.

After the usual introduction, he thanks God for the consolation he had received in all his sufferings, and for

¹ Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Παῦλος Ταύτας οὖν ἔχετε τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, φησὶν, ἀγαπητοί· καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἀγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ.—*Strom.* iii. c. 11, p. 544, ed. Potter.

² ‘ Revera enim suspicantur, Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori veniam dedisse, quem in prima dedendum Satanae in interitum carnis pronuntiarit,’ etc.—*De Pudicitia*, c. 13.

³ ‘ Item beatus apostolus Paulus, dominicae inspirationis gratia plenus, ‘ Qui administrat,’ inquit,’ etc.—*De Opere et Eleemos.* ix. 608, ed. Migne.

the ability to comfort others in like circumstances; which leads him to refer to the imminent danger from which he had been recently delivered, owing in part to their prayers. Such intercession he expected from them because of his good conscience (i. 1-14). He then defends himself against the charge of fickleness because he had altered his purpose of visiting them in person, assuring them that it was not from fear or versatility of mind, but out of tenderness towards them (15-24). The mention of his desire not to give them pain brings up the subject of a former letter. It was for this reason he wrote that epistle, with a troubled heart. Now he is satisfied with the discipline which the church had administered to the offender by his recommendation, and wishes the penitent to be restored (ii. 1-11). He proceeds to express his affection for them, and the anxiety he felt when he did not meet Titus at Troas, and travelled to Macedonia, hoping to find him there. But the intelligence he received at last was so welcome, that he breaks forth into an expression of praise to God who caused him always to triumph. In this manner he passes to himself (12-17). To obviate the suspicion of vainglory he appeals to what he had done at Corinth, but is careful to ascribe to God all the ability that made him an efficient minister of the new covenant. This leads him to contrast the old with the new dispensation, and to touch upon the blindness of the Jewish nation as though a veil were on their minds during the reading of the Old Testament (iii.).

Returning to the frankness and freedom of his preaching, he states that he taught the whole truth without falsification, though it might not be received by all. He did not proclaim it with a view of exalting self, or with a mixture of selfish motives, but announced nothing except the pure light of the gospel, which God had made to shine in his heart. Conscious that he had been called to the apostolic work, he did not

lose courage or confidence even amid sufferings; but knowing the living power of Christ in him, he was supported amid exposures to death, as he looked forward to the future glory that swallows up the remembrance of these light afflictions. To that eternal state he had regard, else he could not have acted and suffered as he did. But he knew that after laying aside the earthly body he should put on a new one received from heaven. With such hope, and remembering that all must stand before the judgment seat of Christ, he could appeal to the Corinthians in attestation of his fidelity. Animated by the love of Christ who died for all, the apostle did not live to himself but to the Saviour; not attaching importance to the earthly conditions of men, nor entertaining carnal ideas of the Messiah any more. In Christ everything becomes new, by reconciliation to God; and the commission to offer that reconciliation had been entrusted to the writer. As an ambassador for Christ, therefore, he beseeches his readers to be reconciled to God and become subjects of righteousness. Exhorting them not to restrain the grace of God as if they had received it in vain, he returns to himself in the duties of his office, stating that he had been very careful to give no offence, at all times, in all circumstances and places; in prosperity and adversity; in thought, word, and deed; in good and bad report; by life or death (iv.-vi. 10).

To this pathetic address he subjoins various admonitions, warning the readers against association with the idolatrous heathen, lest they should be seduced into sin. As he begins to speak of the intelligence brought by Titus, and the effects of his first letter, he says: 'Understand me aright; ascribe no evil design to me in writing the former letter. I have given you no cause to think so by my apostolic conduct in relation to you.' He had been uneasy till he heard of their repentance from Titus: then he was filled with joy. He was glad

that his letter had affected them so much; not that he took any pleasure in reproving, but rejoiced in the repentance of the guilty. The result had been the very thing he had in view. He could therefore repeat his former glorying in the converts at Corinth, rejoicing that Titus himself had returned well pleased (vi. 11-vii. 16).

In the second part, the writer encourages the Corinthians to complete the contribution they had begun to make for the poor Christians in Judea; for which purpose he had sent Titus and two others.

The apostle boasts of the liberal spirit displayed by the Macedonian churches, who had made a considerable contribution for the use of the poor believers in Judea, though in narrow circumstances themselves. He had desired Titus to call upon them to complete the work; and hoped they would abound in liberality; not that he commanded it, but showed that such conduct was conformable to the example of Christ, who denied himself for the good of mankind. And as they had begun to be generous a year ago, he hoped they would justify his good opinion of them. He did not mean that they should do all, and other churches nothing; but that they should give according to their ability. He had sent Titus to finish the matter, because the latter had a tender concern for them; and with him two brethren of tried principle, hoping that the Corinthians would justify his assertions in other churches respecting their liberality. In exhorting them to be generous, he reminds them that as they sowed in the present life, they might expect to reap hereafter; and that their liberality would promote the honour of God as well as the advancement of Christianity (viii. ix.).

Chapters x.-xiii. assume a severe tone towards the refractory enemies among them, assert his apostolic power, expose the false apostles who attempted to subvert his authority, and speak of his own merits re-

luctantly, not from vainglory but concern for their good.

He beseeches the Corinthians not to compel him to use severity at his coming among them. Against his opponents he affirms, that Christ had armed him with authority, and that he should exercise it towards those who pretended that his letters only had weight, his bodily presence being mean and his speech contemptible, so that he durst not act or speak so boldly among them as his writing would indicate. He does not boast, as some of his enemies had done, of the fruits of other men's labours; nor does he assume the credit of anything which he had not really done; but hopes that through their instrumentality the kingdom of Christ would extend to surrounding regions. Far from praising himself on account of what had been done, he glories in the Lord alone (x. 1-18).

He now asks their indulgence for venturing to boast of himself, which he does out of solicitude for them, lest they should become estranged from him by the representations of other teachers. He believes that he is not inferior to the extra-super apostles, an expression which we refer to the Christ party. Though unskilful in oratory, he is not deficient in knowledge. They had had abundant opportunities of proving his character. He refers them to his laborious services in preaching the gospel gratuitously; avowing his determination not to abandon that course, that his opponents might be deprived of a pretext for assigning unworthy motives. As for those adversaries, he charges them with deceitfulness, hypocrisy, and falsehood; and while indulging again in boasting, he apologises for it. In claiming for himself qualifications and prerogatives equal to those of his enemies, he enumerates the perils he had suffered for the gospel's sake (xi.).

In the same boastful strain, visions and revelations are referred to, one in particular by way of example.

But that ground is soon left and his infirmities dwelt upon. In excusing his boastful tone, he speaks of the signs he had wrought among them when he planted the truth in their midst; and of his perfect disinterestedness. Not only did he act so himself, but his messengers followed the example, taking no temporal support from the Corinthians. All this he adduces, not so much from a wish to defend himself as for their edification. Afraid that their factions were not done away, he anticipates grief on account of vices retained by some (xii.).

After telling them that he was about to visit them the third time, he announces the severe procedure he would follow at his coming. Since they wanted a proof of the power of Christ in him, they should find him able to give it. But he exhorts them to self-examination, hoping to be spared the necessity of severity. The letter concludes with a recommendation of unity, peace, and love; and a comprehensive prayer is offered, that the grace of Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit might be with them all (xiii.).

The epistles to the Corinthians show the writer's peculiar personality. A fiery strength of soul tempered by tenderness, a sense of personal freedom and independence united to leniency for the weak, a religious spirit of manifold flexibility, deep, glowing, intense, bent upon one great object amid perils and painful vicissitudes, sacrificing all for the furtherance of that object; such characteristics are unique in the history of humanity. The epistles reveal the way in which he applied Christianity to the circumstances of ecclesiastical and social life, along with rules or suggestions bearing many relations.

The epistles are unlike those to the Romans and Galatians. In the letter to the Galatians truth appears in its rougher elements, strength taking the place of fineness; in that to the Romans it passes into the abstract domain of doctrinal propositions and contrasts;

it is seen here in the manifestations of actual life. The theology is ethical not doctrinal, entering into relations public and private, healing disorders, correcting mistakes, and furnishing wholesome precepts. Nowhere is the manysidedness of the apostle's mind so evident—the breadth and largeness of view that touch topics of multifarious difficulty with much ability. The Spirit of God had endowed him beyond ordinary humanity, and all his powers were needed for the solution of the problem, which the first church reared on the classic ground of ancient Greece presented.

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GALATIANS.

GALATIA or Gallogræcia was a province of Asia Minor, differing in extent at different times. It was peopled by Gauls or Kelts, about 280 B.C., who, refusing to take part in the expedition of the main body against Greece, and joined by a portion of the repulsed army, pushed forward from Thrace, where they had settled for a time, to the Hellespont, crossed over to the opposite shore, and overran Asia Minor under their leaders Leonorius and Lutarius. They were invited by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to assist him against his brother; and were rewarded with a portion of his country. But they were not easily restrained from incursions on their neighbours, and their marauding expeditions became formidable. Other princes followed the pernicious example of Nicomedes; few wars being undertaken without their co-operation. Their name became so terrible that the kings of Syria paid them tribute. At length they received an effectual check from Attalus king of Pergamus, who drove them back, confining them to the fertile plains between the Halys and the Sangarius. Here in ancient Phrygia they became incorporated with the original inhabitants and Greek settlers; and were called Gallogræci or Grecian Gauls, by the Romans. They appear to have retained their own language, customs, and institutions for a long time; since Jerome says their tongue was nearly the

same as that of the Treviri. But the similarity may be explained in another way. Along with their vernacular language they spoke Greek; the latter being used in public inscriptions and monuments. In the year 189 B.C. they were subjugated by the consul C. Manlius Vulso and brought under the Roman yoke, but were still allowed to have their own princes, the last of whom, Amyntas, was murdered 26 B.C.; when Augustus converted Galatia into a Roman province, governed by a *proprætor*.¹

Galatia in the New Testament may be either Galatia proper, that comparatively small tract of land in the interior of Asia Minor within which Attalus confined the restless population; or the larger kingdom of Amyntas, which was converted into a Roman province, including portions of Lycaonia and Pamphylia with Phrygia. Many critics have supported the opinion that the Galatians of the Roman province are intended by Luke, in which case Derbe and Lystra in Lycaonia, with Antioch in Pisidia, were Galatian cities. Iconium was not,² because the south-eastern part of Lycaonia did not belong to the Roman province, as Böttger³ supposes. It is therefore argued, that the Galatian churches consisted of Lycaonian and Pisidian Christians, the former chiefly in Derbe and Lystra, the latter in Antioch. But the New Testament does not seem to adopt the official appellation of Galatia, because Lycaonia is mentioned separately in the Acts of the Apostles, including Galatia proper (Acts xvi. 1-6; xviii. 23). Derbe and Lystra are expressly called cities of Lycaonia (xiv. 6). The popular acceptance of Galatia is favoured by the parallel examples of Phrygia, Mysia, Pisidia in the Acts, which occur in their geo-

¹ Mynster's *Kleine theologische Schriften*, p. 51, *et seq.*

² See Rückert's *Magazin für Exegese und Theologie des N. T.*, erste Lieferung, pp. 97-112.

³ *Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Paulinischen Briefe*, dritte Abtheilung, § 1.

graphical not their political sense. Hence Galatia proper must be meant, not new Galatia or the more extended Roman province; whose churches were chiefly in the leading towns, Ancyra, Tavium, Pessinus, and Gordium. Lystra, Derbe, Antioch in Pisidia are excluded.

It has been disputed whether the Galatians were of pure Keltic or of Germanic origin. The word *Galatæ* is the same as *Keltæ*; and Livy speaking of the inhabitants of Galatia, calls them Gauls. Jerome is quoted on behalf of their Teutonic origin when he says that they had the same language with the Treviri; and the Tolis-toboi had a leader named Lutarius (Luther); but this coincides with the fact that there was a Teutonic element in the tribes, without invalidating the opinion that they were mainly Kelts or Gauls. Wieseler's arguments against their Keltic origin are more ingenious than convincing.¹

The Gallic religion was sensuous and superstitious, consisting in rites and cruel ceremonies. The Phrygian worship of Cybele appealed to the senses and excited the passions of men. It is probable that the Galatians united the worship of Cybele with that of the Gallic deities. The commerce carried on in their chief towns drew a number of Jews thither, who, according to Josephus, enjoyed considerable privileges. These Jews were doubtless zealous in propagating their religion, and had made proselytes.

The first time the apostle Paul visited Galatia was on his second missionary journey, as related in the Acts of the Apostles. 'Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia,' etc. (Acts xvi. 6). The conversion of the Galatians took place on this occasion, since the Asia which the

¹ *Zur Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater*, 1879; and *Die deutsche Nationalität der kleinasiatischen Galater*, 1877.

apostle was forbidden to preach in was not Asia Minor but *proconsular* Asia. When Paul set forth on his third missionary journey from Antioch, he came a second time to Galatia, as we infer from Acts xviii. 23. 'And after he had spent some time there (at Antioch) he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.' The word *strengthening* or *confirming*, implies that the inhabitants had been already converted. Thus two visits are distinctly marked.

It is improbable that a journey to Galatia prior to these two is intimated in Acts xiv. 6, though Koppe and Pfeiderer think so. 'The region that lieth round about' does not mean Galatia, but the region about Derbe and Lystra, cities which are assigned to Lycaonia. We know indeed that Galatia, as a Roman province, included parts of Lycaonia and Pisidia; but there are good reasons for believing that the word Galatia was used by the sacred writers in its popular, not official sense. Nor does the language of Gal. ii. 13 imply that the Galatians were personally acquainted with Barnabas, or lead to the conclusion that they had received a visit from Paul and Barnabas together at the time referred to in Acts xiv. 6. Koppe refers to the fact that the object of Paul's second missionary journey, as noticed in Acts xv. 36; xvi. 4, 5, was to *confirm* the churches; but it is sufficient to reply that those whose faith was strengthened on that journey did not include the Galatians, the subject being changed at xvi. 6, where the Galatians are introduced.

TIME AND PLACE AT WHICH THE EPISTLE WAS WRITTEN.

The letter has been put at two extremes of date. According to some, it was the first of Paul's; according to others, the last. It stood first in Marcion's canon, as we learn from Tertullian,¹ but it is uncertain

¹ *Adv. Marcion.* v. 2, vol. i. p. 316, ed. Semler.

whether his list was arranged on the chronological principle. Tertullian's opinion seems to have been that it was not. In modern times, the view that it is the earliest Pauline writing has been held by respectable critics, including Michaelis and Koppe; though no good argument can be adduced in its favour. The other extreme is that of Koehler and Schrader, the former of whom brings it down to A.D. 69, two years after Nero's death; while the latter dates it A.D. 64, in the [one] Roman imprisonment. Intermediate dates are numerous.

It was written after St. Paul's second visit to the Galatians, because there are intimations of his having been twice with them: 'Of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God' (v. 21). The context shows that the second visit, not the first, is implied. 'Am I, therefore, become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?' (iv. 16); or rather, 'Am I, therefore, hated by you, because I told you the truth?', on his second visit in all probability. 'Ye know how, through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you *at the first*' (iv. 13). This language agrees best with a second visit, for the expression translated *at the first*,¹ denotes properly, 'on the former of two occasions.' The expression, indeed, *may* mean nothing more than a time antecedent to that in which Paul wrote, as Fritzsche and Usteri understand it: but the former sense is the more probable. The apostle need not, and perhaps would not, have used the word at all, had he visited the Galatians but once before writing. These notices are not striking or decisive proofs that the writer had made a second visit to his readers; but they contain probable evidence of it.

The churches of Galatia were founded A.D. 52, and were revisited by the apostle in 55. Hence the epistle

¹ τὸ πρότερον.

is said to have been written at the end of the year A.D. 55 or the beginning of 56. How long after? Immediately, according to those critics who rely on the expression 'so soon,' in i. 6. 'I marvel that ye are *so soon* changing from him that called you,' etc.; that is, shortly after his second visit. This interpretation, however, is precarious, because the context seems to limit the expression to the time of their conversion, not to that of his last leaving them. The change was speedy and unexpected. After embracing the gospel they soon fell away, and adopted opinions at variance with it. The phrase contributes little to a settlement of the date.

After travelling through Galatia and Phrygia, where he confirmed the believers, the apostle repaired to Ephesus, where he abode nearly three years, and wrote the epistle after hearing of the Galatian apostasy. So many think. At what period of the Ephesian sojourn, at its commencement, middle, or close, must be matter of conjecture. In other words, the epistle may have been written A.D. 57, if it be dated at Ephesus. In confirmation of this place a passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians has been adduced. 'Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye' (xvi. 1). As this injunction respecting a collection is not in the Galatian epistle, Cappellus conjectured that the latter was written immediately before that to the Corinthians; that Paul gave the bearer a verbal message about the money; and that the injunction being fresh in his mind when he began the epistle to the Corinthians, gave rise to the allusion. As, therefore, the writing of the Galatian letter was almost simultaneous with that of the first to the Corinthians, the place was the same—viz. Ephesus. The argument is perhaps more ingenious than valid, because the apostle may have given directions about the collection when he last visited the Galatians.

Some will think it more pertinent to compare various passages in the two epistles, showing the same ideas to have been in the writer's mind when composing them. In both he alludes to his infirmity in the flesh (Gal. iv. 13 ; 1 Cor. ii. 3). The same proverb is quoted in Gal. v. 9 ; 1 Cor. v. 6. Gal. v. 6 ; vi. 15 may also be compared with 1 Cor. vii. 19. But if similarities in idea and diction contribute to settle the date of an epistle, they are more numerous in relation to the second epistle to the Corinthians. Compare Gal. iii. 13 with 2 Cor. v. 21 ; vi. 7 with 2 Cor. ix. 6 ; i. 6 with 2 Cor. xi. 4 ; vi. 15 with 2 Cor. v. 17 ; iv. 17 with 2 Cor. xi. 2 ; i. 10 with 2 Cor. v. 11 ; i. 9, v. 21 with 2 Cor. xiii. 2 ; iii. 3 with 2 Cor. viii. 6. And several words are peculiar to the two Pauline epistles.¹ Professor Jowett has also pointed out the similarity of tone and feeling in them ;² to which may be added the cognate manner of dealing with antagonists. The affinities in question bring the epistle nearer the second to the Corinthians than the first. In pursuance of the same method, a comparison of the Galatian with the Roman epistle furnishes a closer parallel. Both set forth the relation of the law to the gospel, showing the inefficacy of the former to confer righteousness. Justification by faith without the deeds of the law is their common theme, in opposition to a Judaising tendency. The following table of parallels shows the striking coincidences of diction between the two.

GALATIANS.

ii. 16.—For by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.

ii. 19.—For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God.

ROMANS.

iii. 20.—By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight.

vii. 4.—Wherefore, my brethren, ye are also become dead to the law by the body of Christ.

¹ ἀπορείσθαι, κανών, κυροῦν, τὸ ὑμναῖον, φηβείσθαι, μήπως, κατασθίειν metaphorically.

² *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, etc.*, vol. i. p. 243, 2nd ed.

GALATIANS.

iii. 6.—Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness.

iii. 7.—They which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham.

iii. 8.—And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed.

iii. 9.—So then, they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.

iii. 10.—For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse, etc.

iii. 11.—But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God it is evident, for the just shall live by faith.

iii. 12.—And the law is not of faith, but the man that doeth them shall live in them.

iii. 15-18.

iii. 22.—But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.

iii. 27.—As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

iii. 29.—And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.

iv. 5, 6.—To redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ.

ROMANS.

iv. 3.—Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.

iv. 11.—That he might be the father of all them that believe.

iv. 17, 18.—As it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations. . . . So shall thy seed be.

iv. 23, 24.—Now it was not written for his sake alone . . . but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him, etc.

iv. 15.—Because the law worketh wrath.

iii. 21; i. 17.—But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets, etc.

x. 5.—For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man who doeth those things shall live in them.

iv. 13, 14, 16.

xi. 32.—God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.

vi. 3.—Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, etc.

ix. 8.—The children of the promise are counted for the seed.

viii. 14-17.—For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of

GALATIANS.

iv. 28.—Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of the promise.

v. 14.—All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

v. 16.—Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.

v. 17.—For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

vi. 2.—Bear ye one another's burdens.

In addition to these coincidences of thought and expression, a number of words are peculiar to both Pauline epistles.¹

We attach considerable weight to a parallelism so striking. Taking into consideration the similarity between the epistles to the Corinthians, especially the second, and the Galatian letter, with the more striking similarity of the latter to the epistle to the Romans, it is natural to place the Galatian letter between the two to the Corinthians and that addressed to the Romans; nearer the last than the former two, because of the greater affinity. The same leading ideas occupied the apostle's mind, and are expressed in similar diction. But the epistles themselves scarcely indicate the order in which those to the Romans and Galatians followed

ROMANS.

God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, etc.

ix. 7.—In Isaac shall thy seed be called.

xiii. 8-10.—He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law . . . and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself . . . love is the fulfilment of the law.

viii. 1.—Who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

vii. 18-25.—With the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

vii. 15.—What I would, that I do not, but what I hate, that I do.

xv. 1.—We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.

¹ Βαστάζειν, δουλεία, ἐλευθεροῦν, ἴδε, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω, κῶμοι, μακαρισμός, μέθαι, οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες, ὀφειλέτης, παραβάτης, παρ' ὃ; τί ἔτι; τί λέγει ἡ γραφή;

one another. It is true that Bishop Lightfoot attempts to trace the order, first and second Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, in the history of Paul's personal sufferings, and in the progress of his controversy with the Judaising opponents,¹ but with precarious success; for, according to Baur, the progress of the conflict with the Judaisers is supposed to have passed its first stage in the Corinthian epistles, where the opposition is of a different nature from that which is indicated in the Galatian epistle. The first ground of attack, circumcision, is abandoned; and the adversaries at Corinth proceed more methodically and with greater reflectiveness, directing their attack against the apostle's person. This view is more plausible than Lightfoot's, and gives the order Galatians, Corinthians, Romans. But both methods of reasoning are precarious, especially the attempt to trace the sequence of the epistles by means of Paul's personal sufferings or feelings. The tactics of the Judaisers were different in different places. Apart from all this, Paul's moods varied, not merely according to his personal sufferings, of which we know little, or according to the opposition of Judaisers, but as the result of those innate promptings of which he was a sensitive subject, the passionate outbursts of sentiment, which took a general or specific shape without rule.

There is no good reason for dating the epistle prior to the first and second to the Corinthians. On the contrary, it should be nearer to the Roman letter, which was written at Corinth during Paul's three months' abode there. The same ideas are sketched in strong outline which the epistle to the Romans presents in a more systematic form. The argument is the same; the treatment different. This does not necessarily imply its priority, because the state of the churches, their relative importance, and the diversified operations of the Judaisers in them, might account for the difference. Hence

¹ *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 50, *et seq.* 2nd ed.

we are not required to believe that the theme expanded in the apostle's mind, till it swelled out into the great theological argument of the epistle to the Romans. Though briefer than the letter addressed to the church of the metropolis and less refined, the character of the persons may have caused all the difference. Yet it is probable that it preceded that to the Romans. An outline or sketch usually precedes a developed system. The rough draft of the great doctrine of justification by faith presented in the Galatian epistle, is followed by a detailed description of it in the letter to the Romans.

We date the Galatian letter at Corinth prior to the Roman one, i.e. A.D. 58, according to the opinion of Grotius, Pearson, and others. The only objection to so late a date is the expression 'I marvel that ye are *so soon* changing,' etc., i.e. so soon after your conversion, whereas they had embraced Christianity six years before. But the phrase is comparative, depending on the standard of the person who uses it. It may refer to time measured by the importance of a thing; long and short varying according to the subjects about which they are employed. The Galatian apostasy was speedy, considering the labour bestowed on them by the apostle and their enthusiastic reception of his message.

The subscription, 'from Rome,' expresses a very ancient opinion, that of Theodoret and Jerome, of B**, K.P.L., and the two Syriac versions. \aleph , A., B*, C., have no place. The bearer of the letter is not known. Macknight fixes upon Titus, because as a Greek he was much interested in the doctrine established; and because, being present at the Jerusalem council, he could attest what took place there. Perhaps Titus would have been mentioned had he been the bearer; for he was of more note than Tychicus, the alleged bearer of the Colossian epistle.

THE APOSTLE'S ADVERSARIES IN THE GALATIAN
CHURCHES.

It is probable that a few emissaries had been sent into Galatia who began the strong Judaizing tendency, and soon gained over converts that became influential Judaizers. One person, who was leader of the anti-Pauline party, seems pointed at in v. 10, 'He that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be.'

It is difficult to tell who were the most active Judaizers among the Galatians themselves. They may have been recent converts among the Gentile Christians to the sentiments of the party which had its principal seat in Palestine. If this be so, they had been persuaded to associate Judaism with their simple Christianity, thinking both necessary to salvation. So Neander supposes, appealing to the passage in vi. 12, 13: 'As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised, only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ. For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law, but desire to have you circumcised that they may glory in your flesh.' The word translated 'they who are circumcised,'¹ may either be the present participle or the perfect passive. Lachmann prefers the latter. The former or received reading deserves the preference. Neander, who adopts it, appears to think it decisive *against* the assumption that the agitators were circumcised Jews and *for* the interpretation that they were Gentiles who suffered themselves to be circumcised. Probably they were proselytes from among the heathen to Judaism before Christianity had been planted in the country, and were now receiving circumcision. They consisted not only of original members of the churches

¹ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι or οἱ περιτετμημένοι (vi. 13).

but of emissaries; the latter being the chief promoters of the sudden change.

In prosecuting their design to bring the Galatians under the yoke of the law, the false teachers industriously circulated various calumnies against Paul. They attacked his apostleship, affirming that he had not been called immediately by Christ like the primitive apostles; but that he received his commission from men. Neither had he been taught Christianity by the true apostles, and therefore his knowledge was inferior to theirs. They asserted that, as James and his colleagues required the circumcision of Gentile converts, there was an inconsistency between them and Paul.

These Judaisers did not labour in vain. The fickle Galatians soon changed. Many submitted to circumcision and were ready to keep the Jewish feasts. Thus the aspect of their Christianity altered; and their religion became an external thing, to the destruction of faith and inward purity. The apostle refutes all such errors, justifying himself with triumphant success, and openly asserting the independence of his gospel. The refuge of lies to which his enemies had recourse is swept away with a torrent of argument which places his doctrine and conduct in the broad light of ingenuous truth.

The occasion of his writing is evident from these remarks. The apostasy of the converts, who had turned back to weak and beggarly elements, was sufficient to call forth his reproofs. The fruit of his labours among them was being frustrated by injurious influences that needed to be withstood. They had to be brought back, if possible, to the simple truth they had forsaken—to be taught again the first elements of Christianity, justification by faith without works.

STATE OF THE CHURCHES WHEN VISITED BY PAUL
A SECOND TIME.

The state of the Galatian churches at the time of Paul's second visit, compared with that in which he had left them, can scarcely be ascertained. He may have found everything encouraging, because they had remained steadfast in the faith; especially as the book of Acts says he *confirmed* the brethren, imprinting on their minds afresh the lessons he had taught before. But this cannot be a correct representation of their state. After his first visit, it is likely that the Judaisers were not idle. Attempts had been made, during his absence, to inculcate upon the converts the observance of the Mosaic law. The germ, at least, of the errors into which they afterwards fell, had appeared. The apostle had seen the leaven which had been fermenting in his absence; so that the state of the churches was neither sound nor satisfactory when he went a second time. Under the circumstances, he must have endeavoured to prevent the development of the principles which had taken root. Rebuking the perverse maxims of the false teachers, he exposed their corruption of the gospel, and put a stop for the time to the incipient apostasy of the converts. His presence allayed their doubts. But his reproofs, and earnest endeavours to eradicate the errors in question, had only a temporary effect. He had repressed without removing the evil; it broke forth again in a more aggravated form.

This view is most consonant with such passages as i. 9; iv. 12, 18; v. 3-21, though they may also consist with the assumption that no defection had taken place at the time of his second visit. Yet it is difficult to believe that the errorists did not make their appearance among the converts for two or three years. It is not likely that they would be inactive there so

long; or that their operations should not begin till after the apostle's second visit. In the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, it is natural to suppose that the Galatians had fallen away in the course of the first three years after their conversion. Bleek¹ assumes that the apostle had just heard of the appearance of the Judaisers among the Galatians when he wrote, appealing to i. 6; iii. 1; v. 10; iv. 19, etc. If so, the parties had exercised no influence before Paul's second visit. But the passages are not decisive in favour of this opinion.

COMPOSITION OF THE GALATIAN CHURCHES.

The mass of those to whom the epistle is addressed, were Gentile converts, as is plain from iv. 8: 'When ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods.' Yet it is immediately added, that they turned again to the weak and beggarly elements of the law. Paul also employs arguments from the Old Testament and rabbinical modes of interpretation, involving an acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures on the part of his readers. Were the churches then divided between Jews and Gentiles, so that the writer turns from the one to the other as his argument leads? This can hardly be asserted in the face of iv. 8, 9, where the same persons in both verses are apparently Gentiles and Jews. No distinction is made between the case of the two classes respecting the obligation of circumcision, for it is said to all, 'if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.' It must therefore be assumed that the Galatians were Gentiles, who had been proselytes to Judaism before their conversion by Paul. According to this supposition, which is that of Mynster, Credner, and Jowett, there is no difficulty in explaining the inconsistency in different passages of the epistle, which

¹ *Einleitung in das neue Testament*, p. 419.

speak as if the Galatians were both Gentiles and Jews; or in accounting for their relapse into Judaism. Jewish teachers, who were there before and after Paul, could easily persuade the converts of the necessity of circumcision. The churches in Galatia consisted mainly of those who had passed through a phase of Judaism. Jews by descent were fewer, while the smallest number consisted of those who turned directly from Paganism to Christianity. The habits, prejudices, and education of the converts, made it a difficult task to win them to a pure faith. The outward and sensuous had great attraction for them. Their nature was of the fickle, passionate, enthusiastic type which passes from one form of religion to another, without laying deep hold of truth. Their magical tendencies were more allied to bodily excision than to faith; and a religion of the letter was adapted to their semi-barbarous state.

These observations preclude the necessity of examining the discordant views of those who hold that the Jewish element was in the Galatian churches at first, so that the minority at least were Jewish Christians while the majority were Gentiles; and of those who think that the churches were originally Gentile, the Jewish element having come into them from without. The former accords best with the opinion that the Judaizing direction had preceded the apostle's second visit. Others, however, suppose that the false teachers did not appear among the churches till after his second visit.

AUTHENTICITY.

The authenticity of the epistle has been admitted by all except Bruno Bauer, who imagines that it was compiled from those to the Romans and Corinthians; followed by the Dutch scholars Pierson and Loman. The contents and style bear the apostle's stamp.

Lardner and others have found allusions to it in the

apostolic fathers. Clement of Rome writes: 'Christ our Lord gave his blood for us by the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his spirit for our spirits' (Gal. i. 4).¹ This reference is doubtful. Pseudo-Ignatius says: 'Which bishop, I know, obtained the ministry for the public, not of himself, nor by men, nor out of vainglory, but by the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (Gal. i. 1).² The allusion here is uncertain. The supposititious Polycarp writes: 'Knowing, then, that "God is not mocked," we ought to walk worthy both of his command,' etc.³ The epistle to Diognetus speaks of 'the observance of months and days' (Gal. iv. 10).⁴

The *Address to Greeks* incorrectly attributed to Justin Martyr, uses these words: 'Be as I am, for I was as ye are'⁵ (Gal. iv. 12). Justin himself has no quotation from it. But he may have alluded to it where he quotes Deut. xxvii. 26, which he introduces, as Paul does, differently from the Greek and Hebrew.⁶

The first express testimony to the authenticity of the epistle, is given by fathers at the close of the second century and the first half of the third, by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. The first writes: 'The apostle says in the epistle to the Galatians: "Of what use, then, is the law of works? It was added until the seed should come to whom the promise was made,"' etc. (Gal. iii. 19).⁷ Clement of Alexandria

¹ Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.—*Ad Cor.* cap. 49.

² Ὁν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων κεκτησθαι τὴν διακονίαν, τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν . . . ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—*Ad Philad.* c. 1.

³ Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μνηστρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς κ.τ.λ.—*Ad Philipp.* c. 5.

⁴ Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicæna*, vol. i. pp. 110, 111.

⁵ γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καγὼ ἤμην ὡς ὑμεῖς.—*Orat. ad Græcos*, c. 5.

⁶ *Dial. cum Tryph.* ii. p. 345, ed. Thirlby.

⁷ 'Sed et in ea quæ est ad Galatas sic ait [apostolus]: "Quid ergo lex factorum? Posita est usque quo veniat semen cui promissum est,"' etc.—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 72, p. 365, ed. Migne.

says: 'Wherefore Paul also, writing to the Galatians, says: "My children, of whom I travail again until,"' etc. (Gal. iv. 19).¹ Tertullian's testimony is to this effect: 'But no more need be said on this head, if it be the same Paul, who writing to the Galatians, reckons heresies among the works of the flesh,' etc.² The epistle is in the Peshito, the old Latin version, and the Muratorian canon.

The early heretics were also acquainted with the epistle, ascribing it to its true author. It was in Marcion's canon, though he is said to have omitted an important passage (iii. 6-9), and interpolated two words in another (ii. 5). Both charges are false, though Tertullian makes them.

Celsus says, that all the Christian sects, much as they may have hated one another, had perpetually in their mouths the words of Gal. vi. 14, 'The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.' The Valentinians wished to prove, by the same passage, that Paul attributed to the cross the virtue which they did.³

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The epistle may be divided into three parts: i. 1-ii. 21; iii. iv.; v. vi. The first is personal and apologetic; the second doctrinal, and the third practical. Each may be subdivided.

1. In maintaining the independent principle on which his apostolic calling rested, Paul states various particulars in his life. He begins with asserting that he was not made an apostle by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father. He then salutes the

¹ Διὸ καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις ἐπιστέλλων φησί· τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ᾠδίνω, ἄχρις οὗ κ.τ.λ.—*Stromata*, iii. p. 468, ed. Colon. 1688.

² 'Nec diutius de isto, si idem est Paulus, qui et alibi hæreses inter carnalia crimina numerat, scribens ad Galatas,' etc.—*De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 6.

³ Origen, *contra Celsum*, v. 64.

churches in Galatia, reproves the fickleness of the converts, expressing astonishment at the sudden change in their belief, pronounces a strong anathema on any who should preach another gospel, and declares, in opposition to the Judaisers, that his object was not to please men. The gospel he preached was not of human origin nor conformed to human wisdom; it was received by immediate revelation. The independence of his apostleship of the elder apostles he shows *negatively*, by stating that he was already an apostle before he came into contact with them. When God revealed his Son in him, he did not consult with any man, nor go up to Jerusalem to learn of the twelve, but went into Arabia and did not visit Jerusalem till after three years; on which occasion he saw none of the apostles except Peter and James, and remained only fifteen days; too short a time to allow of his being instructed in Christian doctrine had he been previously ignorant of it. Still further, to prove that he had not been taught Christianity by the chief apostles, he asserts that he was a stranger to the Christians in Judea. The independence of his apostolic authority is also shown *positively* by his conceding nothing to the elder apostles when he came into contact with them, by the assertion of his rights and their recognition of them. On the occasion of his third journey to Jerusalem, he went with Barnabas and Titus, in consequence of an express revelation. Having explained his gospel to Peter, James, and John privately, they approved. He did *not* yield to the demand to circumcise Titus; and the three left him to follow his own course without hindrance. The only thing proposed was, that collections should continue to be made in the churches for the use of the poor Christians in Judea (i.-ii. 10). In continuation of his argument respecting doctrinal independence, it is stated that he reprimanded Peter at Antioch, who through fear of the Judaisers acted so as to betray the liberty of Gentile

converts. The substance of his language to Peter was — that even such as were born Jews believed in Jesus Christ for justification, since with all their attachment to the law, they knew that no man could be justified by works. The believer by means of the law becomes dead to it, that he may begin to live to God. He is crucified with Christ, and his life is a life of faith in the Son of God. The doctrine of justification by faith, so far from annulling the grace of God, establishes its necessity; but if justification be by the law, Christ died in vain (ii. 11–21).

2. The position thus laid down, viz. that it is faith in Christ which justifies, not works of the law, is shown to be a fact of Christian consciousness, and also a truth inherent in the Old Testament, inasmuch as the substance of the old dispensation is the promise made to Abraham; the law being nothing but an appendix to that promise. The apostle appeals with confidence to the Galatians themselves, asking whether they had received the spirit by the law or the gospel. Beginning in the spirit, were they making an end in the flesh? Abraham himself was justified by faith not by the law; and righteousness belongs to all who by faith are his spiritual children. The law pronounces condemnation on all because it requires absolute obedience, which none can render. Christ in dying delivered men from the curse of the law, that the blessing promised to Abraham might come upon the Gentiles—the blessing of the promised spirit (iii. 1–14). The writer proceeds to explain the essence of the law, in which he shows its subordination to the promise, and the relative significance which it has in its intermediate position between the promise and faith. If a human covenant cannot be broken, much less can God's promise made to Abraham and his seed. The law intervening between the promise and its fulfilment, could not prevent the latter. If it be asked, Of what use then is the law?—the answer is,

it was added to convince of sin till the promised seed should come; but it was firmly established by angels, not by God himself, and had a mediator. Now a mediator implies two parties, but there was no mediation in the case of the promise; God himself acted: one is better than two: the dispensation of mediation or the law is inferior to the promise of faith, or the gospel.¹ This does not imply that the law is opposed to the gospel; it was rather intended to prepare the way for it. It was a tutor leading men to Christ that they might be justified by faith. Under the gospel all are the sons of God by faith. There is no distinction between Jew and Greek. All are bound together in spiritual unity (iii. 15–29). Prior to the gospel both Jews and Gentiles were in bondage; but now God has sent his Son to deliver such as were under the dominion of an outward religion that they might be adopted as sons. As a proof of this He has given them the spirit of his Son; so that they are no longer in a state of bondage but heirs of God. He reminds the Galatians of their former idolatrous state, and of their present one, in which it would be preposterous for them to turn back to the weak and beggarly elements of Judaism. A sort of parenthetic or abrupt passage is thrown in here, expressing the painful feelings of the writer, his dejection and anger (iv. 13–20).

Speaking of himself, he exhorts them to be of the same mind with him. He is not referring to personal wrongs; they had shown great attachment to him. Weak and sickly as he was, they received him as an angel of God. Was it possible that they could have become enemies, because he told them the truth? The Judaisers desired to make proselytes of them, but their motives were bad, since they wished to shut them out

¹ See the ingenious explanation of iii. 19–25 by Lüdemann, in his *Anthropologie des Apostels Paulus*, pp. 179, 180, and a somewhat different one by Holsten in his *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, i. p. 101, etc.

from Christ. He remarks that zealous affection is a good principle in a good cause; a principle which should be continued in his absence as well as presence; expresses his great solicitude about them till they should be spiritually restored, and then changes his style. After the fragmentary passage noticed, he reverts to the Old Testament to show them that they did not rightly understand the law, and allegorises the two covenants. Sarah, Abraham's wife, with her son Isaac, represents the New Testament church, which is free; Hagar, the bondwoman, with her son Ishmael, represents the Old Testament church. The latter must give place to the former. The law and the gospel are paralleled with the two children of Abraham (iii. iv.).

3. The practical part of the epistle begins with the fifth chapter.

The Galatians should remember their freedom under the new economy, and not allow themselves to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage. He warns them against circumcision, declaring that if they submitted to it Christ would be of no avail to them, because the circumcised virtually engage to keep the whole law. Under the gospel circumcision and uncircumcision are alike valueless; nothing but faith working by love avails. The Galatians had made a good beginning; but they were not now what they once were. They had been drawn away by the leaven of false teachers. Still he expresses a hope that they would not abandon themselves to errorists. As for himself, if he preached circumcision as he had been accused of doing, there could be no reason for the Jews persecuting him. In that case, they had no more to say against him. But the fact that he was still an object of persecution sufficiently attests that he preached Christ's cross. In irony he adds, Would that they who trouble you would make themselves eunuchs, incapable of the privilege of circumcision!

While adhering to the liberty of the gospel, Paul exhorts them not to abuse it. They were bound to love one another, and so to fulfil the law. By leading a life of conformity to the will of God, they would take the most effectual method to suppress the sensual nature within them, and be released from the law as a system of outward observances. He then enumerates the works of the flesh and the fruit of the spirit, reminding them that Christ's true disciples have crucified their sinful nature and walk in the freedom of the divine life. Among various exhortations he recommends generosity to their instructors. Their duty was to do good to all men, especially to fellow-Christians.

After saying that he was writing the epistle in large letters with his own hand, his anxiety for the Galatians breaks forth again, and he repeats in brief the substance of the whole. He tells them that the Judaisers, wishing to have some outward thing to glory in, insisted on having them circumcised, only that they might not be persecuted because of the cross of Christ. They were inconsistent in observing some usages of the law and abandoning others; wishing to glory in Jewish ordinances, while Paul gloried in the cross of Christ. Pronouncing peace on such as walked by the rule of the new creature, he desires in conclusion, that the Galatians should give him no further trouble, since he carried about in his person the marks of sufferings endured for Christ. The letter closes with the usual benediction (v. vi.).

Contrary to usage, the apostle wrote the epistle with his own hand, in characters large and ill-shaped. The reason of his writing it himself was, not to prevent forgery as Olshausen thinks, but to prove the extent of his affection, because the false teachers had endeavoured to alienate the Galatians from his person.

RELATION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ACTS.

The Pauline authorship of the epistle has an important bearing on the Acts of the Apostles. It presents Paul in a different light from the historian's—so different as to cast grave suspicions on the accuracy of the portrait in the Acts. The Paul of the epistle is not the Paul of Acts. The apostle of the Acts is an observer of the law, like Peter, James, and John. He looks upon circumcision leniently, allowing it under the gospel; in the epistle, he opposes it as contrary to the genius of the gospel. It is possible to exaggerate the differences between the history and the epistle, in their portraiture of Paul; but after all reasonable deduction, enough remains to show that he is not the same man in both. There is a general discrepancy, with minor points of agreement—a variation of opinion and feeling that does injury to the apostle's character. His conceptions of Christianity were clear and decided, when he wrote the group of epistles comprising those to the Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians; they were hardly the same as represented in the Acts.

The relation between Paul and the original apostles is also presented differently in the two works. In the epistle, the doctrinal antagonism between the apostle of the Gentiles and the twelve, is too palpable to be denied. They are men in the first phase of Christianity—Judaic Christians with narrow conceptions; in the Acts they are more liberal, allowing Gentile Christians exemption from the law of Moses. In the epistle the relations between them and Paul are not harmonious. An uncompromising advocate of a free Christianity and the abrogation of the law, had little sympathy with their views. In the Acts there is a better understanding between the parties; and their points of antagonism are softened.

To reconcile these differences apologists have made a few unimportant concessions. But it is necessary to keep in view that Petrine Christianity was the first stage through which the new religion passed after its development out of Judaism; and Pauline Christianity a later stage, freer and more comprehensive. The essential point between them was the observance or non-observance of the law—a principle of antagonism which had to be broken down. The manner in which Paul speaks of Peter, James, and John, in the Galatian epistle, is not cordial but depreciatory: ‘Those who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me,’ etc.). This language is depreciatory of the twelve themselves, not of the extravagant claims set up for them by the Judaisers. Does not the apostle speak of a different gospel of the circumcision and uncircumcision (ii. 2, 7); and of an opposition between himself and the twelve (*contrariwise*, verse 7), which implied at least, that they left him to fight his own battle without help? Great as was their authority, they did not assist him, but continued to preach the gospel of the circumcision.

The statements which the apostle makes about himself immediately after his conversion, do not agree with those of the Acts. So far from supplementing they mutually exclude one another. Expositors have tried to weave them into a consistent narrative without success. The epistle gives the reader to understand that the apostle’s immediate mission was to the Gentiles: ‘to reveal his Son in me that I might preach him among the heathen’ (i. 16); but in the Acts, he preached at once to the Jews in the Damascene synagogues, and after that to those at Jerusalem (ix. 19–29).

The Acts say that after ‘many days’ spent in Damascus, during which he preached in the synagogues, he was compelled to flee to Jerusalem, where he was looked upon with suspicion by the believers till Barna-

bas vouched for his sincerity and introduced him to the apostles ; so that he was supported in his preaching there, till the Jews compelled his departure and removal to Tarsus (ix. 19, etc.). The epistle says, that immediately after his conversion he went to Arabia, returned thence to Damascus, and only visited Jerusalem after three years. There is no mention of the Arabian visit in the Acts ; nor is there any room for its insertion. As to the stay in Jerusalem, the Acts represent it as of some length, and imply that he preached the gospel there. ‘ He was with them (the apostles) coming in and going out, and he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus ’ (ix. 28, 29). The object of his visit as given in the epistle was different, and his stay shorter. It was to see Peter, with whom he abode but fifteen days ; neither did he see any other apostle there except James. He did not go therefore to preach the gospel, but simply to confer with Peter. It was about this time that the Acts speak of him as having showed ‘ unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and *throughout all the coasts of Judea*,’ that they should turn and repent (xxvi. 20) ; language which is contrary to his own statement that he was unknown by face long after to the churches of Judea in Christ (Gal. i. 22). The epistle demonstrates with sufficient clearness, that Paul did not preach to the Damascene Jews immediately on his conversion ; that he did not go to Jerusalem after he had to leave Damascus ; that he was not introduced there to the apostles by Barnabas ; that the Jews in the metropolis did not seek to kill him ; and that he did not go from Palestine to Tarsus ; the opposite to all this is given in the Acts. The writer of the Acts may not have known the epistle, as some critics suppose ; yet that circumstance does not account for the discrepancies in question. His leading motive induced him to describe Paul, not as the uncompromising preacher of the gospel to the Gentiles from the first, but as one

who laboured to accommodate his teaching to the Jews, till he was reluctantly forced to turn to the Gentiles. The subject will occupy us again, when we come to examine the Acts of the Apostles.¹

INTERPRETATION.

The points of resemblance and difference between the epistles to the Galatians and Romans are admirably drawn out by Jowett. Both set forth the doctrine of justification by faith; the universality of the gospel which makes no distinction between Jew or Greek, bond or free; the nature of sin as transgression of the law and the spiritual union of the believer with Christ. They mention the observance of days and months, which is treated in the one as indifferent, in the other as hurtful; contain exhortations against antinomianism; the sonship of the gospel contrasted with the bondage of the Jewish economy; and a summary of works of the flesh. The differences are these: the epistle to the Galatians is more personal; that to the Romans resembles a treatise rather than a letter. The one treats circumcision as a question of practice; the other of the law as a burden on the heart and conscience. The argument of the one is fragmentary; that of the other comprehensive and continuous, extending over all mankind and all time. The epistle to the Galatians is an argument or expostulation with Judaising opponents; that to the Romans is an argument or dialogue with self, in which the opponent is only a shadow or idea, 'the old man' of the apostle's own thoughts, not the Jewish Christian with whom he is in actual conflict.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the term *law* as used in the epistles has a comprehensive sense, embracing the moral and the ceremonial. Both indeed

¹ See Part I. of the English *Life of Jesus*, p. xv. etc.

are united, being but different forms of law, a finer and a grosser. The one or the other is prominent according to the context, and they were evidently undistinguished in the apostle's thoughts. He excludes every form of law from an inherent efficacy to impart salvation, whether in the shape of ceremonial observances or deeds of sanctity or refined morality. Salvation is by faith in Christ not by works of law. Faith justifies because it rests upon one who satisfied divine justice and fulfilled the claims of law, so that God looking upon the believer as one with Christ, imputes the righteousness of the head to the members of the spiritual body. Justification is God's act, a forensic thing external to the believer, followed by a subjective change in the latter. This is the way in which Paul thought out the subject. But a more rational one may be given. In justification man becomes just and holy, that is, is raised up to a new life, because he believes that God is his loving Father in Christ Jesus, and acts accordingly. Works cannot be separated from faith. Indeed faith itself is in one sense a work—an exercise of the soul belonging to man himself, the rational act of a rational creature, as Baxter correctly thought. Salvation is of grace; yet man works out his salvation. In other words, God loves His creatures, and has made provision for their redemption; man believes this, and shows his love to God by acting agreeably to His will. There are degrees of faith and love, that is, men are in a saved or justified state, variously. To draw a line between the saved and not saved is impossible. The classes of good and bad run into one another; so that God alone, whose judgments are pervaded by perfect love and justice, can distinguish them.

‘Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was of the bondwoman was

born after the flesh ; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are an allegory : for these are the two covenants ; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not ; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not : for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband ' (iv. 21-27).

This passage has an important bearing on the hermeneutics of the apostle Paul. That he sometimes adopted the rabbinical mode of interpretation cannot be questioned. He allegorises the Old Testament history, as the Jews of his time were wont to do. What is meant by *allegorising* it ? The following remarks may suffice for answer.

1. Bishop Marsh argues¹ that Paul does not pronounce the history itself an allegory, but merely declares it *allegorised*. It is one thing to say that a history is allegorised ; it is another to say that it is allegory itself. Had the apostle meant that the history was an allegory, he need not have allegorised it. Paul *treats* the portion of history as an allegory, but does not thereby *convert* it into an allegory. He institutes the same comparison which we institute in an allegory ; but the subjects of the comparison do not acquire the same character with the subjects of an allegory. This reasoning is followed by Palfrey, who says bluntly that the rendering, ' which things are an allegory,' ' represents Paul as saying precisely what he did not mean to say.'² The argument is ingenious but nugatory, the common rendering being as good as the proposed one.

¹ *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, p. 354, et seq. ed. 1828.

² *The Relation between Judaism and Christianity*, p. 287.

There is no real difference between the two versions; nor did the apostle make such linguistic distinctions.

2. Scripture history may be interpreted allegorically in two ways. It may be used typically, in which case the historical sense is preserved; or it may be employed in the genuine allegorical sense, excluding every other. Tholuck¹ argues that the apostle has applied here a typical sense, preserving the historical one. It is of little importance whether *allegorised* means *applied as types*, or not; the real question is, Was the typical or allegorical sense intended by the writers themselves of the Old Testament? A typical sense may be as fanciful as an allegorical one. It is an axiom of interpretation, that no passage has more than one sense. If so, the typical sense is an imaginary one—a mere application of history to something which the original writer did not think of. We hold that the apostle has given a mystical meaning to the narrative of Abraham and his two sons, agreeably to the Jewish mode of allegorising. As a specimen of interpretation, this is fanciful and incorrect; but it suited his purpose and readers. Ishmael had nothing to do with the law; and it is arbitrary to bring him as well as Isaac into connection with it. To the apostle's mind objective and subjective were one. He treated the history as pure allegory without an objective basis. Such exegesis was not peculiar to him. It was that of his time and contemporaries. The sense in which he understood the narrative did not conserve another; it was the only one, according to the apostle; who looked upon the symbolical representation as the conveyancer of abstract truth not of historical facts.

In making these remarks, we do not deny that deeper meanings may lie hid under the Old Testament history. All that is asserted is, that *the present* passage is an example of allegory. Into the wide question

¹ *Das alte Testament im neuen Testament*, p. 37, et seq.

whether the Old Testament dispensation was a system of typical events and ordinances we do not enter. Whatever answer be given to it, one thing cannot be denied, that fanciful interpretations of the Old Testament are met with in the New ; that senses never meant by the original writers are given ; and that the true meaning is excluded by another.

A rigid inspiration of every part of the Hebrew Scriptures, which was the prevailing belief of the Pharisees and apostles, led to allegory and type. When reason rebelled against the literal inspiration of a passage, allegory was resorted to.

Apologists try to blunt the edge of these facts in their bearing on the nature of the writer's inspiration by saying, that allegorical interpretations are used as *illustrations* rather than arguments; forgetting that with Paul there is no difference between the two. It is idle to descant on the alleged dogmatism which is said to set up the intellectual standard of our age as an infallible rule, since we measure the logic of the apostle by acknowledged axioms of interpretation.

Our observations will be confirmed by another passage in the epistle (iii. 16), which runs thus:—

‘Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many ; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ.’

After saying that the promise was made to Abraham and his seed, an explanatory gloss is subjoined to strengthen the argument. Paul states that the words of the Old Testament were, ‘to thy seed,’ limiting the noun to one person, i.e. Christ, by using the singular not the plural number. The reasoning turns on the number of the noun, from which it is seen that the apostle believed in the verbal inspiration of the Old Testament. The plural of the Hebrew word, here rendered by a corresponding Greek one, could not have been used, because it only means ‘crops of grain.’ Hence

it is superfluous to say that he did not employ the plural. Besides, the Hebrew word *seed*, and its Greek representative,¹ are collective in the singular, denoting *race* or *posterity*; whereas *seed* is limited by the apostle to one person, i.e. Christ. Here we have a rabbinical exposition. The Jews sometimes pressed the singular or plural in this fashion; and explained *the seed* in Gen. iv. 25, of Messiah. The error, though a grammatical one, affects the theological interpretation. The seed of Abraham meant nothing else than the Jewish people; and to give it another sense is contrary to exegesis. There is no secondary or typical sense apart from the historical one. If such be assumed, it is independent of the latter and rests on an imaginary basis. If it be evolved out of the latter, it is only by a spiritualising process that supersedes that which gives it birth. Allegorical interpretation sets aside the legitimate sense. In the present instance, *the seed of Abraham* assumes a meaning deduced from the rabbinical education of the apostle. If any wish to see the efforts of an overstrained anxiety to defend this apostolic *midrash*, let him read Tholuck's remarks or the erroneous assertions of Cremer in his *Lexicon*. (See the supplement translated into English, p. 912.) Apologists fall into palpable blunders in upholding the accuracy of a rabbinical comment, and assert that his argument is independent of his philology, whereas the argument *turns upon* the philology; since the author infers that Christ alone is meant because the singular number of the noun *seed* is used. Theological, resolves itself into grammatical, interpretation.

¹ σπέρμα, זרע.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH AT ROME.

THE time at which the gospel was carried to Rome is unknown. That it had taken root there during the life of Christ is an idea which cannot be entertained, though it is sanctioned by the Clementine homilies. The Jewish population of the city was considerable in the time of the apostles; as we learn from Philo, Josephus, Dion Cassius, and others. When Pompey the Great conquered Judea, he sent large numbers of the inhabitants as prisoners to Rome to be sold for slaves. Under Augustus the friend of Herod the Great, many of them were liberated and made Roman citizens, having a dwelling-place assigned them beyond the Tiber. The young colony rapidly increased under the fostering influence of the emperor; for Josephus states that more than 8,000 belonging to Rome joined an embassy of fifty deputies from Judea to second a petition to Augustus.¹ But they did not enjoy constant favour, since Sejanus had 4,000 transported to Sardinia; and the remainder were ordered to depart from Italy on a certain day, unless they renounced their religion.² With the fall of Sejanus the edict lost its significance; and imperial favour returned to the Jews. In like manner Claudius banished them from Rome, A.D. 49 or 50; but many must have returned soon after. Dion Cassius testifies

¹ *Antiq.* xvii. ii. 1.

² *Tacit. Annal.* ii. 85.

that Judaism continued to increase at Rome, in spite of all the restrictions and decrees issued against it.¹

Were there Christians at Rome when Claudius's decree against the Jews was issued? This point cannot be determined for want of definite historical testimony. The language of a passage in Suetonius bearing upon it is ambiguous. The emperor, it is said, 'banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually raising tumults, at the instigation of Chrestus.'² If these words refer to disputes between Jews and Christians, Christianity had already found its way into the Roman synagogue. The Romans mispronounced the name *Christus*, taking it to be the same as *Chrestus*, a Greek word; and therefore Suetonius may have meant Jesus Christ. It is likely that the words of the Roman historian involve the existence of Christians at Rome in the time of Claudius. The preaching of Christ in the Roman synagogue was a constant source of disturbance, and led to the banishment of the Jews from the city.

A passage in the Acts respecting Aquila and Priscilla is also indefinite in its bearing on the point. 'And found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy with his wife Priscilla (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome), and came unto them' (xviii. 2). Some may suppose that Aquila was still a Jew, because he is so called, without a word to indicate his faith in Christianity. But Jewish Christians are styled so in Acts xxi. 39; xxii. 3. Nothing prevents the supposition that Aquila is called a Jew even after he had embraced Christianity. If Aquila and Priscilla were already Christians, we can explain why Paul attached himself to them so soon. Similarity in faith and in occupation drew him to their abode rather than to that of other tent-makers at Corinth. It is possible that he may have become a convert after leaving Rome and before arriving at

¹ *Histor.* xxxvii. 17.

² *Claud.* chap. xxv.

Corinth, but it is not probable ; and if he first made a profession of Christianity at the latter city, his altered sentiments were the result of Paul's teaching. On the whole, it is probable that Aquila and Priscilla were Christians before leaving Rome ; though the language of Acts xviii. 2 is not decisive. The fact of their Christianity before Claudius's decree is not inconsistent with its being directed against the Jews, because the Romans did not distinguish between Jews and Jewish Christians ; their laws making no separation between the two religions. We agree with those who assume the existence of Christians at Rome when Claudius's edict was issued ; and reckon Aquila with his wife among the number. How long they were such cannot be known. It has been conjectured that Jews from Rome who were present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, returned home with the seed of the new religion (Acts ii. 10) ; and that Jewish Christians, scattered abroad by the persecution arising after Stephen's death, may have found their way to the metropolis. The extraordinary influx of foreigners from all parts of the empire furnishes ground for believing that the gospel took early root in the imperial city. The constant intercourse between it and the provinces might make many acquainted with the new religion whose converts became so numerous.

The Roman Catholic Church asserts that Peter was the founder and first bishop of the Christian community at Rome. This tradition will be examined hereafter.

All learned members of the Roman Catholic Church have not adopted it.

Christianity was introduced into Rome as early at least as the middle of the first century, and the original converts were Jews. The name of Jesus was first heard in the synagogue ; and the church at its commencement was a Jewish Christian one. Heathenism had ceased to satisfy reflecting pagans, who longed for a purer worship and turned to the Jewish religion, so that according to

Seneca, in a fragment preserved by Augustine,¹ the conquered gave laws to the conquerors. Juvenal too, in his sixth satire, ridicules the Jew-loving Romans.

COMPOSITION OF THE CHURCH WHEN THE APOSTLE
WROTE.

Though the tradition of Peter's founding the church is unhistorical, a fact lies at the root of it, viz. that the church was originally Jewish Christian. But a change may have passed over it during the eight or nine years of its existence till Paul's letter was written. Gentiles may have associated themselves with it in such numbers as to exceed the primitive class and give it another character. It is assumed that the edict of Claudius had the effect of separating the Roman Christians as much as possible from connection with the synagogue, in order to escape the consequences of it. But this and similar assumptions about the decree of the Emperor are precarious. It is improbable that all the Jewish Christians were expelled along with every Jew in Rome, leaving the church to consist of converts from heathenism only. The mildness and humanity of Nero in the first five years of his reign would allow the mass of the expelled to return and resume their place in the community as Christians. But all reasoning about the changed relations of the Roman church in the interval between its founding and the receipt of the apostle's letter has no proper basis. The relative proportion of Jewish and Gentile converts can only be settled by the epistle itself.

The constitution of the church when the apostle wrote is a subject of debate. The most probable opinion is that the Gentile element preponderated. The church seems to have been large. Paul, at least, says that their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world.

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. vii. c. 11.

It is not necessary to assign a reason for the apostle omitting to mention elders and deacons. Perhaps these officers were not then among them; or the writer's want of knowledge may account for the omission. We cannot tell whether there was a regularly organised church; whether the believers met in one place; or if they gathered in separate localities. It is probable that there was no definite organisation; and that the believers met in different places. Whatever unity of belief and feeling existed among them, their outward organisation showed little compactness. The term *church* is not applied to them, nor are *bishops and deacons* spoken of, as in the Philippian epistle. But it is unsafe to argue from the absence of these expressions, respecting the existence or non-existence of a *formal church*. Nor can xiii. 11 be built upon in relation to the point, though Ewald thinks it may. Whatever may have been their external arrangements, the mutual spirit of the believers was not a model of love, if Jewish and Gentile Christians formed portions of the one community; the narrowness of the one prevented cordial sympathy with the other.

How far the apostle was aware of their exact state is a question that cannot be answered. He had doubtless received accounts from converts who visited him in Greece and elsewhere; but his knowledge must have been general, unless there was intercourse between him and Christians in the metropolis.

No light is thrown upon the state of the church at Rome when the apostle wrote, by the concluding part of the Acts where his personal arrival in the city is mentioned, because that narrative is unhistorical. How could the leaders of the Jews be so ignorant of Christianity, when a numerous church existed near them with many Jewish converts belonging to it? The community was not so insignificant as to elude their observation or excite their contempt. The Jews and Christians of the metropolis were too much identified in opposition to

heathenism not to know one another. That the majority of believers consisted of Gentile Christians has been inferred from several passages, chiefly the following:—

‘By whom we have received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith among *all nations* for his name, *among whom* are ye also the called of Jesus Christ’ (i. 5, 6). Here the word rendered *nations* means Gentiles generally; and though it might be said of born Jews that they lived among the heathen at Rome, it is more agreeable to the language of the apostle to understand him as saying that his readers were a part of the heathen to whom his apostleship referred.

‘Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (but was let hitherto), that I might have some fruit among you also, *even as among other Gentiles*’ (i. 13). These words are more exact than the last in affirming that the community was chiefly composed of converts from heathenism. Mangold errs in confining the fruit which Paul wished to gather among them to the converting of Gentiles in Rome;¹ it refers to activity among Roman Christians already converted.

A third place, on which Tholuck² lays considerable stress, is in the 15th chapter. ‘Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you, in some sort as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost’ (xv. 15, 16). Here the writer announces himself the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable to God. Other passages, such as xi. 13, 17–24, 28, 30, where the writer turns to the Gentile Christians, are consistent with the same view.

¹ *Der Römerbrief und die Anfänge der Römischen Gemeinde*, p. 82.

² *Commentar zum Briefe Pauli an die Römer*, Einleit. § 2.

But the apostle's reasoning throughout the epistle supposes Jewish readers acquainted with the law; as appears from chaps. ix.-xi., ii.-iv.; more particularly from chaps. ii. 13, 17-27; iii. 1-8; vii. 1; ix. 1-5; x. 1, 2; xi. 1-11. The general argument in these passages is unintelligible or at least irrelevant, without an implied relation to Jewish religious consciousness. How then are we to reconcile the conflicting phenomena? How bring together the plain statements in i. 13, where the Roman Christians are called *Gentiles*, and in vii. 1, where the writer speaks to them 'that know the law?' The explanation that the apostle turns to one class in the church in some parts of the epistle, and in other parts to another class, scarcely meets the case. If we suppose that the majority of the church were Gentile Christians, they may have been Jewish proselytes with Jewish Christian proclivities. Here is the solution of the difficulty proposed by Prof. Jowett. 'The Roman church appeared to be at once Jewish and Gentile; Jewish in feeling, Gentile in origin. Jewish, because the apostle everywhere argues with them as Jews; Gentile, because he expressly addresses them by name as such.'¹ This is scarcely correct. The nucleus of the church was Jewish, to which a Gentile growth was added. Whether the latter had passed through Judaism into Christianity, or directly from paganism, cannot be ascertained. Though it is a debatable point whether the majority consisted of Jewish or Gentile Christians, there can be little doubt of the church's Jewish origin. We believe in the *predominance* of the Gentile Christian element. Beyschlag's plausible hypothesis that the church consisted of Jewish proselytes is opposed to vii. 4-6. Some parts of the letter presuppose a degree of jealousy between two parties. The seeds of dissension lay in their doctrinal views. The Jew, after em-

¹ *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 23, 2nd ed.

bracing Christianity, was still attached to the Mosaic law and valued it highly. He sought salvation through the Messiah in connection with the rites in which he had been nurtured. The Gentile Christian, despising Jewish partiality to outward forms, presumed in his sense of freedom, to do things likely to offend the conscience of his less enlightened brother. There was thus a tendency to separation between the parties. The seeds of strife appeared in the Roman church when Paul wrote his epistle, but were less visible and marked than in other congregations. Various allusions in the closing chapters imply the existence of Judaic scruples. The admonitions addressed to the weak and the strong in the 14th chapter refer to Jewish and Gentile Christians respectively; and the fact of refusal to eat flesh and drink wine betrays an ascetic, Essene tendency in the former. We are aware that good interpreters, including Holtzmann, Lipsius, and Mangold, explain the weak as well as the strong in xiv. 1-7 of Gentile Christians; but as the 15th chapter obviously alludes to Jewish and Gentile Christians, i.e. the weak and the strong, it is probable that these are meant in the present passage, not perhaps exclusively and in sharp contrast, but chiefly so; some Gentile Christians being among the Essene-minded and some Jewish Christians being among the strong. To what extent alienation between them had proceeded it is difficult to tell. The pretensions of the Jewish Christians seem to have been far from arrogant against their Gentile brethren; but though no breach had been effected, they had scruples about the admission of the Gentiles to the full privileges of God's people. The question of circumcision had not separated them. Still there was the Jewish tendency on one hand, and the free spirit on the other; the latter, the more prominent and stronger. The apostle, aware of the relaxing spirit of the Gentile Christians, at which their Jewish brethren were apt to stumble, con-

soles and strengthens the party whose state needed his sympathy. Under the overpowering influence of the majority, the lesser body felt that their position had become more precarious. Hence Paul treats them tenderly, though we see a conflict between his convictions and feelings: the former too deep to be changed, the latter too strong to be repressed, too ardent to be quenched: he brings into prominence the glorious privileges of the Jews, and their hope of a bright future when all should be gathered into the kingdom of God.

THE APOSTLE'S OBJECT IN WRITING.

The object of Paul in the present epistle may be represented in a light so general as either to exclude all references to the special relations of the church; or to reduce their intrinsic value to comparative insignificance. This has been done by such critics as Olshausen, who suppose that the writer intended to set forth the essential truths of the gospel in their adaptation to sinful humanity—to expound the plan of salvation as conferring equal blessings on all. According to the view in question, the cardinal doctrines of Christianity are inculcated in substance. The apostle's design was didactic and comprehensive, giving rise to an epistle of ampler range and profounder views than any other apostolic communication—to a doctrinal treatise rather than a letter. This view of the epistle is maintained by many good critics, including De Wette, Meyer, and others. But though the ground taken by the writer is general like his commission, there is reason for doubting the correctness of the opinion. In all other instances, the epistles arose out of certain circumstances in the state of the parties addressed; and the connection between them and the writer. Nor should the present be made an exception, especially as the letter itself is

coloured by the condition and feelings of those to whom it is directed. Analogy is against a general didactic object. The letter was suggested by the relations of the Roman community itself. An object so general as that of an exposition of the gospel to the Roman converts, savours of modern theology rather than the first century, in which Christianity was not only apprehended very differently by different parties, especially by Jewish and Gentile Christians, but taught by apostles in a wider or narrower, a more liberal or more sectarian form, according to educational prepossessions or mental tendencies. Christian truth did not lie in the minds of the apostles as a complete whole which they had only to set forth in its absolute relations. It was progressively developed, becoming clearer to their consciousness according to subjective and objective conditions. They were men of a peculiar age which was characterised by rapid changes and revolutionary ideas. They were in the midst of moving events; extraordinary impulses without, and a divine spirit remarkably active, within. Hence they did not, like moderns, give forth a wide scheme of doctrine, the result of calm reflection, as a perfect or complete synopsis for the future as well as the present. Their ideas were shaped by prevalent currents of thought, and had the limitations created by local or temporary exigencies.

The purpose of the apostle was not so wide as the writing of a theological compendium for the use of all Christians. Baur makes it polemic. Believing that the Jewish Christians formed the chief part of the Roman church and that an anti-Pauline tendency had begun to develop itself early among them, he supposes that they took offence at the ministry of Paul because they saw it effective in bringing constantly increasing numbers into the kingdom of Messiah, while Israel as a nation was excluded. They made objections, therefore, to the apostle's universalism. As long as the nation of

Israel did not participate in the grace of the gospel, they regarded the reception of the Gentiles as an abridgment of their prerogatives—an injustice done to them—a barrier to the promises given to Jehovah's people. Asserting that Christian salvation has only a particular bearing, they thought that the bestowment of grace depended on national privileges. The epistle was written to meet this state of feeling in the church; and is therefore a justification of Paul's apostleship called forth by Jewish antagonism. No friendly circumstances gave rise to it. It grew out of unfavourable views in a church where the Gentile Christians were nothing compared with the Jewish believers. Hence the tone is polemic or at least apologetic.¹

Agreeably to this hypothesis, Baur regards chapters ix.-xi. as the centre and nucleus of the entire epistle—the essential portion which gave occasion to the whole.

The opinion in question is hardly correct, because it implies too wide a separation between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in the Roman church; pushing the influence as well as the pretensions of the former to excess by reducing the latter to an insignificant minimum. It also overlooks some of the apostle's own declarations, especially those in the introduction to the letter (i. 1-17), and undervalues the first eight chapters.

We cannot accept the view, either as the critic himself sets it forth, or in any modified form. The occasion of writing was the particular state of the church at Rome. Certain special injunctions were not suggested by the possibly disturbing influences within the church, nor by what the apostle had encountered in Galatia and Corinth, but by existing facts. Yet the tendency and tone are general, because the apostle's design was to explain and justify the gospel of universalism

¹ *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, p. 341, et seq.

which he preached to the heathen, rather than his own apostleship. By this means he met the scruples of the Jewish Christians respecting the admission of the Gentiles to the same privileges with the Jews, and showed the inability of the law to bestow a righteousness attainable through faith alone. The letter was not meant for a compendium of evangelical doctrine, or a system of dogmatic theology. Neither is it a general summary of what Paul had written before, or a combination of the fragmentary teaching contained in other letters. It was written to explain the righteousness of God based upon the death of Christ, and thus to unite Jewish and Gentile Christians in the harmonious acceptance of his gospel. In doing so his aim was chiefly to enlighten the Jewish Christians. The greater part of his peculiar doctrine is a development of Jewish consciousness with one prominent addition, the shifting of the law's fulfilment to Christ's vicarious death and the transference of imputed righteousness to the believer. The apostle's tone is conciliatory, his opposition to the law milder than in the epistle to the Galatians; for instead of the law being discredited as it is in that epistle where it is put on a level with the forms of heathen religion, it is subordinated to justification by faith. The cross of Christ is not once mentioned, out of condescension to the Jewish Christian consciousness existing in the church. The views of the Jewish Christians, their theocratic scruples respecting the Gentiles, their national prepossessions, are met not by direct antagonism, but in the exposition of the truth which he preached as the apostle of the Gentiles. Such procedure would further the spiritual life of the Christian body at Rome, unite the parties in a common faith, and reconcile the Jewish minority.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

When the apostle wrote, he was about to go to Jerusalem to minister to the saints, with contributions from Macedonia and Achaia (xv. 25–27), which indicates his last abode in Achaia of three months' duration (Acts xx. 3). He intended to pass from Achaia to Syria, in order to get to Jerusalem directly; but was compelled by the machinations of the Jews to take another way back through Macedonia. This alteration of plan had not been made when he wrote, else he would have noticed it. We infer, therefore, that the epistle was composed before he set out again from Achaia. Corinth was the chief city; and may be fixed upon as the place of his three months' stay. That it was written there may be inferred from the fact, that Gaius, an inhabitant of Corinth, sends a salutation to the Roman Christians. Erastus is also mentioned as steward of the city where the apostle wrote; and we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 20, that he dwelt at Corinth. Phœbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea, is also commended to the Romans; and Cenchrea was the port of Corinth. From the manner in which she is introduced to the favourable regard of the Roman Christians, it is conjectured that she was the bearer of the letter, either alone or with others. It should be remembered, however, that these indications of time and place are drawn from the 15th and 16th chapters, the authenticity of which is doubtful. The epistle was written A.D. 58.

AUTHENTICITY.

The authenticity of the epistle has been called in question by Evanson and Bruno Bauer, but is amply attested by the most ancient witnesses and by internal evidence.

Clement of Rome writes: 'Casting off from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, debates, malignities and deceits, whisperings and backbitings, hatred of God, pride and boasting, vainglory and ambition. For they that do such things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but they also who have pleasure in them.' (Compare Rom. i. 29-32.)¹ Compare also Rom. iii. 29 with ch. xxx.; xii. 5 with ch. xlvii.; xiv. 1 with ch. xxxviii.

The supposititious Polycarp has the following: 'And must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and every one give an account for himself' (Rom. xiv. 10.)²

Theophilus of Antioch (about 180) says: 'To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for immortality, He will give eternal life, joy, peace, rest, and many good things, etc. . . . But to the unbelieving and the despisers, and them that obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness . . . shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish' (compare Rom. ii. 6-9).³ In another place, 'Honour to whom honour, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute; to owe no man anything but only to love all men' (Rom. xiii. 7, 8).⁴

In the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (180), occurs the following quotation: 'Showing indeed that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to

¹ ἀπορρίψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους, ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιάς, θεοστυγίαν, ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν. Ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγητοὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνενδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς.—*Ep. ad Cor.* c. xxxv.

² πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι.—*Ad Philipp.* c. 6.

³ τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν διὰ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ζητοῦσί τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, δωρήσεται ζωὴν αἰώνιον, χαράν, εἰρήνην, ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ πλήθη ἀγαθῶν . . . τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις καὶ καταφρονηταῖς, καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, . . . ἔσται ὀργὴ καὶ θυμὸς, θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία.—*Ad Autolyc.* lib. ii. p. 79, ed. Colon.

⁴ τῷ τὴν τιμὴν, τὴν τιμὴν· τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν φόβον· τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον· μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας.—*Ad Autolyc.* lib. iii. p. 126.

be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us' (Rom. viii. 18).¹

Irenæus is the first who expressly quotes the epistle as Paul's: 'This same thing Paul has explained, writing to the Romans: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, predestinated to the gospel of God, which He promised by his prophets," etc. And again, writing to the Romans, he says of Israel, "Whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for evermore."' "²

Clement of Alexandria says: 'Behold therefore, says Paul, the goodness and severity of God,' etc.³ And in another place: 'In like manner Paul writes in the epistle to the Romans: "How shall we who have died to sin, live any longer in it?" "⁴

Tertullian says: 'But I will call Christ alone God, as the same apostle (Paul) does: of whom Christ came; who is, says he, God over all, blessed for ever.' ⁵

The internal character of the epistle and its historical allusions coincide with the external evidence, in proving it an authentic production of the apostle. It bears the marks of his vigorous mind; the language and style being remarkably characteristic.

¹ ὁτως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.—*H. E.* v. i. p. 7, ed Heinichen.

² 'Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus scribens ad Romanos: Paulus apostolus Jesu Christi, prædestinatus ad evangelium Dei, quod promisit per prophetas suos, etc. Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israel dicit, Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in secula.'—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 16. 3.

³ Ἴδε οὖν, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος, χρηστότητα καὶ ὑποποιαν Θεοῦ· ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πεσόντας, κ.τ.λ.—*Pædagog.* lib. i. p. 140, vol. i. ed. Potter.

⁴ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ γράφει· οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ;—*Stromata*, lib. iii. c. ii. vol. i. p. 544, ed. Potter.

⁵ 'Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere sicut idem apostolus: ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne.'—*Adv. Præream*, c. xiii.

INTEGRITY.

The authenticity of the doxology in xvi. 25-27 has been questioned.

The three verses are found at the end of the 16th chapter in α , B., C., D., E., 16, 80, 137, 176, the *d. e. f.* of the old Latin, Peshito, Vulgate, Memphitic, Ethiopic; in copies mentioned by Origen; in some MSS. and editions of the Armenian; in Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and other Latin writers.

They are put at the end of the 14th chapter in A., L., and the great majority of cursive MSS. and lectionaries, the later Syriac, in copies mentioned by Origen; in Chrysostom, Theodoret, etc.

They are found in both places in A., P., 5, 17, 109 lat., 37, and in some MSS. of the Armenian version.

They are wanting altogether in F. Gr. G. and g., and in copies alluded to by Jeromæ. Marcion too had not the verses; for Origen states that he took away the last two chapters.¹ It has also been thought that Tertullian did not read the verses. He cites xiv. 10 as being in the close (*clausula*) of the epistle.²

The preponderance of external testimony is in favour of the authenticity, and of the position at xvi. 25-27.

Internal evidence leads another way, for—

1. A doxology at the end of an epistle is contrary to Paul's manner.

¹ 'Caput hoc (xvi. 25-27) Marcion, a quo Scripturæ evangelicæ atque apostolicæ interpolatæ sunt, de hac epistola penitus abstulit. Et non solum hoc sed et ab eo loco ubi scriptum est: quod non ex fide est, peccatum est (xv. 23) usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit. In aliis vero exemplaribus, id est, in iis quæ non sunt a Marcione temerata, hoc ipsum caput (xvi. 25-27) diverse positum invenimus. In nonnullis etenim codicibus post eum locum quem supra diximus (xvi. 23) statim cohærens habetur: ei autem qui potens est vos confirmare. Alii codices vero in fine continent.'—*Comment. ad Rom.* xvi. 25.

² *Adv. Marcion.* v. 13.

2. The epistle had been already completed at the 24th verse, 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen,' if that verse be authentic; if not, at the 20th verse.

3. It wants the simplicity of Paul's doxologies, being inflated, exaggerated, obscure, having irregular and awkward constructions. The combination of 'my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ' is un-Pauline and unsuitable. 'To stablish according to my gospel' yields no good sense, and is contrary to the usage of the verb in the New Testament with a preposition, viz. *to stablish in*.¹ And what is the meaning of establishing the Roman Christians, not only according to the gospel of the writer and the preaching of Jesus Christ, but also *according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began?* The construction of the relative pronoun '*to whom* be glory,' etc., is ambiguous.² If it be referred to *Jesus Christ* immediately preceding, the idea is contrary to Paul's usage, who never ascribes glory to the Son but to the Father. If it be referred to *the only wise God*, the doxology is left incomplete. The analogy of the same relative pronoun in Acts xxiv. 6, used irregularly, does not hold good, because Paul is not the writer there. Besides, the expression *by Jesus Christ*³ is unintelligible here; and Meyer's explanation, 'to God who appears as the only wise One through Jesus Christ,' is far-fetched. These are the phenomena in the three verses that strike the reader as peculiar. We admit that their tenor is Pauline, but that arises from the fact that the doxology is made up for the most part of expressions from the later Pauline literature. Thus, 'according to my gospel' is from Rom. ii. 16; 'the revelation of the mystery,' from Ephes. iii. 3; 'kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest,' is from 2 Tim. i. 9, 10; 'according to the

¹ στήριζεν ἐν; compare 1 Thess. iii. 13; 2 Thess. ii. 17.

² ᾧ ἡ δόξα, κ.τ.λ.

³ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

commandment of the everlasting God,' from Titus i. 3; 'to all nations, for the obedience of faith,' from Rom. i. 5; 'by Jesus Christ,' from Rom. ii. 16; 'to the only wise God' is either from 1 Tim. i. 17, where, however, the adjective *wise* is spurious; or from Jude 25. The whole tone resembles in part the doxology in Heb. xiii. 20, 21;¹ and the phraseology has a Gnosticising aspect.

Such grounds render it probable that the passage is an addition to the epistle from a later hand. It is easy to assert that an interpolator would have avoided difficulties and irregularities of construction, making all simple and complete; but the assumption implies that he was able to write as well as if not better than Paul, which there is no reason for supposing. An officious compiler may be a bad composer. Unusual, awkward, and obscure phrases, put together in a brief compass, cannot favour identity of authorship with a composition which does not exhibit the same irregularity and harshness, unless it be supposed that the writer became suddenly careless, or was hurried and interrupted. Fritzsche, however, imagines that he had leisure enough;² and makes the apostle dictate the doxology to an amanuensis after he had read over the letter or heard it read by another; a suggestion which Mr. Moule improves upon by supposing that the apostle's *own hand* added it. What Moule strangely calls a 'rapturous' doxology is assigned, with all its irregularities of construction, to Paul himself;³ which is doing him an injustice. The apostle wrote better than that, as Tholuck rightly felt when suggesting great haste as the cause of such negligence. The so-called rapturous doxology is made up of ideas and phrases from other epistles, specially that of Jude. The defenders of the passage,

¹ See Reiche's *Commentarius Criticus in N. T.* vol. i. p. 88, *et. seq.*

² *Pauli ad Romanos Epistola*, tom. i. pp. xxxviii–xlix, prolegom.

³ *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, p. 255.

the ablest of whom is Fritzsche, have not succeeded in clearing away its difficulties.

The varying position shows a feeling of its unsuitableness at the end of the epistle where it was originally placed. It could not be transferred to the 15th chapter, which is formally concluded; and therefore it was appended to the 14th, where the apostle speaks of the weak; and the words 'to him that is of power to stablish you' appropriately follow. Modern critics feeling the singularity of its position at the end of the epistle place it at xiv. 23. Griesbach and Matthæi, Mill and Wetstein, take this view. De Wette himself admits that there is something remarkable in its isolated position at the end of the epistle, after a closing benediction; but he has no other explanation to offer than Fritzsche's.

The whole of the 16th chapter we take to be spurious. The numerous persons mentioned in it as Paul's acquaintances at Rome, though he had never been there, testify against it. It is true that there was considerable intercourse between the metropolis and the provinces, and that the apostle had known several of the individuals in Asia Minor; but these circumstances are insufficient to account for the long list of those saluted by name; a list which shows obvious desire on the part of the writer to bring the apostle into close friendship with many of the persons named, and to enumerate their meritorious services to him. Andronicus, Junias, and Herodion are his *kinsmen*. Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, sending salutations are also his kinsmen. Rufus's mother is termed Paul's mother. Aquila and Priscilla laid down their necks for his life. Mary bestowed much labour on him. It is also said of Andronicus and Junias, that they were 'of note among the apostles, and in Christ' before him. All this savours of one who took an interest in pointing out the close

relation subsisting between the apostle and the best-known members of the Roman church. In the epistles written from Rome Paul does not mention the same individuals. Besides, Aquila and Priscilla were at Ephesus shortly before the writing of the epistle; now they are at Rome; and immediately after they reappear at Ephesus. Epenetus, the first fruits of Asia, is also specified as at Rome; Andronicus and Junias are fellow-prisoners of the apostle, at a time when he was not in prison.

An attempt has been made to find, among the persons mentioned in the 16th chapter, the names of the members of Cæsar's household, who commend themselves to the brethren at Philippi in the Philippian epistle. In the columbaria or sepulchres described by the Marchese Campana and Canina, names of buried persons have been found identical with several in the chapter. Tryphœna, Philologus, Julia, Amplias or Ampliatus, Urbana, Apelles, Junias, Rufus, Hermes, Hermas. The coincidence appears striking at first sight; and it is possible that some of the names may point to the very persons specified. But most of them were common from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Hadrian. Julius and Rufus, Hermes and Hermas, Junias, Urbana, Ampliatus, Apelles, occur more than once in the inscriptions. Tryphœna and Philologus were rarer. Nothing can be built on this foundation. The authenticity of the 16th chapter of the epistle or of the whole work, can hardly be strengthened by coincidences of names which are but possibly identical. We know that Christianity had spread extensively in Rome when Paul wrote to its adherents there; but whether any of Cæsar's household had embraced it at the time; whether Tryphœna was attached to the service of Messalina because an inscription has Valeria Tryphœna, the former being the Gentile name of the empress; and whether Philologus belonged to the palace because

Livia is found in the same inscription as that which has his name, it is impossible to affirm.¹

The warning against errorists (xvi. 17–20) is hardly suitable in the circumstances, for the language seems to allude to Gnostic heretics of an immoral tendency, who drew away some from the faith. There is a resemblance between them and those spoken of in 1 Timothy i. 6, vi. 20. The 19th verse of the sixteenth chapter presupposes the church's immunity from error; whereas the next verse suggests the existence of combats and divisions.

There is much plausibility in Schulz's conjecture, that xvi. 1–20 was written from Rome to the Ephesians; and Ewald adopts it, thinking that xvi. 3–20 was inserted from a lost epistle to the Christians at Ephesus.² This conjecture, however, does not solve the difficulties connected with the doxology. How is it that names of persons at the same place begin again, and a doxology is appended, contrary to Paul's manner? That the whole chapter formed an original part of the Roman epistle, can scarcely be admitted by such as are alive to the difficulties in the way of that opinion.

The critic has only to look calmly at the number and quality of the guesses which the advocates of the 16th chapter make in its favour, to strengthen his doubts of its authenticity. Renan supposes that the body of the epistle was sent not only to Rome but also to Ephesus, Thessalonica, perhaps to another place, with differing conclusions; and that the contents of the 16th chapter formed the terminations of the letter as it was forwarded to the last three. The epistle is converted into a condensed summary of Paul's theological doctrine—a body of divinity intended for most of the churches he had founded.³ Though Archdeacon

¹ See *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, No. x. p. 57, *et seq.*

² *Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus*, p. 428.

³ *Saint Paul*, pp. lxxii, lxxiii.

Farrar pronounces this a simple and adequate solution, it is clumsy and improbable.

The Pauline origin of the 15th chapter is capable of better support than that of the 16th. Yet a careful examination will probably lead to its rejection as well. Baur's arguments have much weight; and are adopted in the main by Lucht. The Pauline authorship is difficult of defence when Schenkel can only assume haste in writing.

Part of the chapter refers to the Jewish Christians in the church, whose favour the writer seeks to conciliate, addressing them in a deprecatory and self-excusing style. The accumulated citations of Old Testament passages, which were meant to quiet their scruples, are a repetition of ix. 24-29. In short, the first part of the chapter (verses 1-13) is only a feeble repetition of the ideas contained in the three preceding ones.

The fourth verse introducing the use of the Old Testament is out of place; and the exhortation to patience and comfort, an isolated idea here, was suggested by the third verse. The seventh verse is taken from xiv. 1.

We read in xv. 8, 9, 'Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers; and that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy,' etc. Is it in harmony with Paul's method to call Jesus Christ a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, etc.? Hilgenfeld's endeavour to parallel and justify this language by xi. 17, etc., Galat. ii. 17, is singularly weak. In the 16th verse the writer speaks of himself as the *minister*¹ of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles. Why is the name *apostle* avoided, though used at the beginning of the epistle? Probably the word

¹ *λειτουργός*, a term for ecclesiastical officers, which Paul applies to civil authorities in xiii. 6.

was chosen to consist with the participle *ministering as a priest*¹ the gospel of God; an expression not found in the New Testament elsewhere. The writer represents himself as a priest performing a sacrificial work in offering up the gospel; but immediately adds that the Gentiles are the sacrifice, correcting as it were the preceding words which seem to make the gospel that sacrifice. The language is peculiar and difficult. The Latin interpreter of Origen renders 'sacrificing the gospel of God.'

Again, is the hyperbolical language of the 19th verse, 'so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ;' or that of the 23rd verse, that the writer has no more space in the districts of his former agency, consistent with Paul's manner? The language presupposes that the apostle began his preaching at Jerusalem and Judea; but this was not the case according to the epistle to the Galatians; though the Paul of the Acts adopts the latter view. Nor is the statement in the 20th verse, of the principle that Paul avoided preaching the gospel where it had been already known, a correct expression of his fundamental rule of action, at least in the absolute way enunciated; else he would not have written to instruct the Romans.

By comparing xv. 8-13 with xi. 30-32 it appears that a distinction is made between Jews and Gentiles in the former place, which differs from what is said in the latter. The calling of both Jews and Gentiles in xi. 30-32 is attributed to the grace of God; whereas the calling of the Jews is of right, in xv. 8-13.

A comparison of verses 24, 28, 29, with chapter i. 10-15, shows some incongruity. The former represent the apostle's purpose to visit the Roman Christians *by the way*, on his distant journey to Spain; the latter conveys the impression of his having them *chiefly* in view. The

¹ *ιερουργούντα.*

one passage describes the writer as wishing to pay the readers a passing visit; the other, a visit meant for themselves, without reference to his ulterior and main purpose. An effort is required to harmonise both. The author of the 15th chapter follows Paul's words in the first (compare 22, 23, with i. 11, 13), but diverges in verses 24, 28, 29, by inserting the Spanish journey, to which he makes the Roman one subordinate. Paul's language in other epistles, is applied in the 27th verse in a way not justified by Galat. ii. 10 ; 1 Cor. ix. 11 ; xvi. 1, etc. ; 2 Cor. ix. 12, etc. ; but is more allied to xi. 15, etc., of the present epistle. In representing the Gentile Christians of Macedonia and Achaia as indebted to the saints at Jerusalem *for spiritual things*, there is some incongruity. That they should be indebted to the apostle of the Gentiles for true instruction, is obvious ; that their contributions to the poor in the metropolis of Judea should be given as a token of brotherly love, is natural ; but how did these poor saints communicate their spiritual things to the Gentile Christians in Macedonia and Achaia ? The language used about himself in relation to the Roman Christians at the beginning of the epistle (i. 8-15) is somewhat modified. Their faith was praised as a thing well known throughout the world ; and he was only hindered by circumstances from visiting and imparting to them *a deeper knowledge* of the gospel. But in xv. 14 they are said to be full of goodness, *filled with all knowledge*, so that he had only to remind them of what they knew already. If, therefore, he had nothing new to give them, the epistle was unnecessary. He might well apologise for 'writing the more boldly in some sort.' The language of this chapter may agree with the idea of Paul's visiting the Romans on his way to Spain ; but it is not entirely consistent with the purposes of a long-desired journey that they might receive some spiritual gift, as is stated in the first chapter. The last four verses of this chapter

present nothing un-Pauline, and probably closed the epistle, following xiv. 23.

The non-authenticity of the 15th and 16th chapters is favoured by the fact which Origen mentions about Marcion, viz. that he cut them off the epistle;¹ meaning that they were not in copies which the reputed heretic had; for the accusations of the fathers directed against Marcion cannot be accepted without drawbacks. What motive could he have had in the present instance for omitting the chapters? His peculiar opinions had nothing to do with them. To cut them off would not have served his cause. In the time of Origen, therefore, some MSS. were without the chapters. Tertullian himself, with all his vituperation, does not specify *falsification* of the epistle as he would have termed it; but contents himself with the vague assertion that Marcion made great pits in the epistle and abstracted from it whatever he wished.² Epiphanius is silent about this corruption of the text.³ Marcion transmitted no more than fourteen chapters to his disciples, either because his MS. had no more, or because he thought the last two unauthentic. Irenæus ignores them; for they are never quoted among his numerous references to the epistle. So too Cyprian. But Tertullian was acquainted with them; and the Canon of Muratori has a few words that refer to xv. 24. The addition took place early, because it is in all known MSS. except a Latin one mentioned by Wetstein.

The testimony of Origen, though it exists only in Rufinus's Latin translation, to the absence of these chapters from Marcion's text is not weakened, much less set aside, by Westcott and Hort's note.⁴ It is rash to alter the reading and to discredit, in the absence of

¹ *Comment. in Ep. ad Romanos.*

² *Adv. Marcion.* v. 13. See Griesbach's *Hist. text. Græci epist. Paulin.* sect. 2, § 5.

³ *Hæres.* 52, vol. i. p. 318. *Opp.* Colon. 1683.

⁴ New Testament in the original Greek, vol. ii. p. 112. Appendix.

evidence, the Latin rendering of Origen's Greek. The reasoning of these critics is one-sided and weak.

The MSS. which have the doxology at the end of the 14th chapter only, favour the view that the epistle terminated there. It was appended to the chapter as a fitting conclusion of the letter, but not early.

Another testimony for the original absence of chapters xv. xvi. appears in the table of headings prefixed to the epistle in various MSS. of the Vulgate. The last heading but one begins at xiv. 15; and passes soon after to the doxology. The table was probably drawn up from an ancient MS. of the epistle which was without the two chapters, but had the doxology appended to the fourteenth. The validity of this argument is not overthrown by the plausible reasoning of Westcott and Hort—reasoning marked by a strong bias in favour of the chapters' authenticity.

Perhaps the 24th verse of the 16th chapter, which is considered inappropriate in that place on the authority of the four oldest and best MSS., was once at the end of the epistle, i.e. the 14th chapter. After the doxology had been put to the 16th chapter, the twenty-fourth verse naturally seemed superfluous, and was either omitted or transferred to the end, as in the Peshito.

How these chapters got to be affixed to the epistle is hard to explain. The advocates of their authenticity find it perplexing, when they resort to the most improbable expedient that several copies of the epistle were made, and sent with appropriate, though varying conclusions to other churches besides that of Rome. Supposing, as they do, that the epistle ended with the 15th chapter, the 16th, according to them, was meant for Ephesus. Where were the other churches to whom other conclusions were sent, and what were these other conclusions? The solution fails to account for the doxologies, especially that which is attached to the 14th chapter in various MSS. Part of the

16th chapter (verses 3-20) probably belonged at first to a letter addressed to the Ephesians. The rest of the two chapters is made up of pieces, all of which may not have been written with one design, nor to supplement the writing with which they are now connected. Perhaps the 15th chapter shows a tendency to limit Paul's ministry to certain districts; reserving Rome, Italy, and Gaul for another apostle. Room is made for Peter, the proper head of the church. In this way a catholicising element is early seen in the epistle.¹

There is no foundation for the opinion that the writer intended his work for Christians generally, the dwelling-place being inserted by transcribers agreeably to the context or tradition. There is indeed a trace of this in G., which omits the words 'in Rome' (i. 7) and 'you at Rome' (i. 15); but α , A., B., C., far older and better copies, have the inscription, 'to the Romans.'

THE LANGUAGE.

Though it may seem strange, at first sight, that the epistle was not written in Latin which was the language of the Romans, there is abundant proof of its Greek original. Latin was then the language of northern Africa where the old Italic version or versions originated, of which revisions were soon made in parts of Italy distant from Rome, not in the metropolis itself. The note of the Syrian scholiast on the Peshito, that Paul wrote in Latin, is groundless. The Greek language was understood and employed at Rome in the first century. The Jews residing there learned it by intercourse with the Greek-speaking inhabitants and with the Romans themselves, many of whom preferred it to the Latin. The oldest Jewish tombs of Rome have Greek inscriptions, as we learn from Aringhi.² Gentile

¹ Comp. Holtzmann in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 504, etc.; and *Einleitung*, p. 257, etc.

² *Roma subterranea*, vol. i. p. 397, etc.

Christians generally understood Greek, as we infer from Martial, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Ovid. Dionysius of Corinth and Irenæus wrote in Greek for the Roman Christians. Justin Martyr, who resided in Rome for a time, wrote his apologies to the Roman emperors in the same tongue. Clement wrote in Greek. Of the names of the first twelve bishops of Rome, ten are Greek and only two Latin. The diffusion of the Greek language was greatly promoted by the multitudes of Greeks that flocked to the imperial city. The majority of slaves, mechanics, and artisans were of Greek origin; and the Romans, addicted to foreign practices, were ready to adopt the language of the conquered. Hence Greek became the favourite tongue of the educated classes. It is also probable that Greeks formed part of the church; though it would be hazardous to assert that the Gentile members were of foreign origin.

CONTENTS.

The most general division of the epistle is into two parts, one doctrinal, the other practical; the former embracing chapters i.-xi., the latter xii.-xvi. These again may be subdivided.

1. CHAPS. I.-XI.

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|---------------|-------------|
| (a) i. 1-v. | (c) ix.-xi. |
| (b) vi.-viii. | |

2. CHAPS. XII.-XVI.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| (a) xii. xiii. | (c) xv. xvi. |
| (b) xiv. | |

Formal divisions cannot be looked for, because the parts run more or less into one another, and pauses are rare. The writer often goes back upon thoughts and develops them in a different way. The most marked pause is at the end of the 8th chapter.

To the salutation the apostle subjoins a few intro-

ductory verses, in which he announces his calling by the Son of God, his gratitude for the faith of the Roman Christians, his continual remembrance of them in prayer, and his great desire to visit them personally for the purpose of imparting some spiritual gift that they may be established. The importance of the gospel he sets forth in emphatic terms, passing to the great theme of the epistle, justification by faith, in the 16th and 17th verses (i. 1-17).

He proceeds to show that all men, Gentiles and Jews, are sinners, transgressors of the divine law, and exposed to the wrath of God; and therefore they need the revelation of the righteousness which is of faith. He demonstrates the sinfulness of the Gentile world (i. 18-32), and affirms that the Jews are equally guilty (ii. 1-29), without however denying their privileges. In consequence of this argument, in which Jew and Gentile are reduced to the same level by the requirements of the moral law, an objection might readily occur to the Jew. What profit is there in belonging to a divine economy? Having advanced what seemed derogatory to Judaism, Paul softens the apparent severity of his statements, by pointing out the privileges and preferences of the Jews (iii. 1-8). After the digression, which interrupts the regular course of the argument, he resumes the line of thought, and sets forth the result which had been already announced to the Jews as a subject of serious reflection, viz. that there is no difference between them and the Gentiles, since they had forfeited their privileges by unbelief. Both are alike guilty, as is shown by quotations from the Old Testament (iii. 9-20).

Having proved that all need the salvation revealed in the law of righteousness, the apostle advances a righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ. Here he establishes a theme announced in the seventeenth verse of the 1st chapter, justification by faith

without the deeds of law. The Gentile is expressly included in the circle of the faithful; and instead of the law being made void by the doctrine of free salvation, it is established (iii. 21-31).

The question before asked, in reference to the Jew, is now put with relation to Abraham, What advantage had he, if Jew and Gentile are alike? Instead of directly answering it in the negative, Paul points out that the same righteousness by faith, without the works of the law, was communicated to him even before circumcision, that he might be the father of all believers, Jews or Gentiles. After setting Abraham's faith in a striking light, the writer applies to all believers what is affirmed of him. The mind of the reader is turned from the fleshly to the spiritual Abraham, with whom the Gentile as well as the Jew may be associated through faith in Christ (iv. 1-25).

The inward fruit of justification by faith is described in the first eleven verses of the 5th chapter. By it the believer obtains peace with God, a hope which enables him to glory in afflictions, and a consciousness of the divine love arising out of the thought that Christ died for him (v. 1-11). In illustrating this topic, the apostle resumes the universal aspect of the plan of salvation already stated, in the persons of the first and second Adam. A stream of death and corruption had flowed forth upon the human family from Adam. From Christ the second Adam proceeds a righteousness which sanctifies. All sinned. Death, the consequence of sin, reigned even over persons who had no positive or revealed law, as well as over those who transgressed a written one. Thus sin and death were universal. The salvation of Christ counterbalances the wide-wasting effects of Adam's one offence. It is even more beneficial than the latter is destructive. Sentence was passed for one offence, involving condemnation; whereas the free gift has relation to many offences. Where sin abounded,

grace abounds much more. The law could not obviate the consequences of sin, but awakened a sense of iniquity, nourishing the desire for a full redemption. Thus the fruits of salvation by faith are compared with the disastrous effects of sin, so as to present a remarkable contrast in favour of the first. The remedy is co-extensive with the disease and even exceeds it. This is illustrated by contrasts between Adam and Christ (v. 12-21).

Having shown the righteousness that is of faith and the superabundance of grace in redemption, in the preceding chapter, he stops to meet an objection that might be taken to the doctrine on the ground of its tendency to encourage sin. Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound? No; for the Christian is dead to sin, the symbol of which state is baptism. United to Christ, the believer dies with him, and rises again to a new life. Sin has therefore no more dominion over him. He is not under the law, seeking justification by it, but under grace (vi. 1-14). The same argument is now put differently. We cannot sin, because by so doing we become the servants of sin. Christians are freed from the bondage of sin producing death, and have yielded themselves to the service of righteousness (vi. 15-23).

The 6th chapter is directed against Christian antinomianism, as the third was intended to meet Jewish antinomianism. In both cases, error is exposed by taking away the externality of the foundation and showing the inward state or life. Neither privilege nor gift of grace can furnish a motive for acting in opposition to the true subjectivity in which the substance of the privilege and gift consists.

The writer had said in the fourteenth verse, 'Sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace.' To illustrate and enforce this, he now compares the relation of the believer to the law, with the case of a wife who has lost her husband.

As the widow is free from the law, and may marry again; so the believer, freed from the law, is prepared to be affianced to Christ. Immediately after, the believer is compared to the dead husband, and, like him, is freed from the law. The apostle means to express the same idea in vii. 1-7 as that which he had termed before a *death unto sin*; and presents it now as a death to the law.

Having mentioned in the fifth verse the sinful affections which the law excites, the writer explains and illustrates this at considerable length, showing the operation of law on the human heart. It is inefficacious to sanctify the soul, and is the occasion of bringing forth fruit unto death, unless there be a death to sin. But it is effectual in imparting the knowledge of sin, which is the first step to amendment. The purport of the passage vii. 7-25 is to assert the nature of the law and vindicate it from the charge of sin. The law produces uneasiness, conflict, disquietude of mind. By its prohibitions it arouses the evil propensities and aggravates human guilt. It does not develop a new life in union with Christ nor give true peace of conscience. Yet it is not sinful but spiritual, because the better nature approves of it (vii. 7-25).

It is wrong to take the 6th and 7th chapters, with Mangold, as a kind of episode intended to obviate possible misconceptions of v. 20. They belong to the first part of the epistle, which explains and justifies the gospel of righteousness by faith, with relation to scruples about its moral effects.

The apostle now describes the state into which the believer is brought after the combat between the law in the members and the law of the mind has passed. He is removed from condemnation, and lives after the tendency of his spiritual nature not after the flesh (viii. 1-15). By the spirit the Christian is made conscious of his adoption, and participation of an everlasting inherit-

ance. This inheritance far exceeds the sufferings of the present life: all long and hope for it, and while cherishing such hope with steadfastness and confidence in God, they cannot be brought to shame. Their heavenly Father has given them a pledge of all other blessings in his only-begotten Son, and they have nothing to fear, because nothing can separate them from the love of God (viii. 16-39).

The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters are not, properly speaking, an appendix to the preceding part of the letter. Neither are they the centre and essence of the whole, as Baur supposes, but a subordinate portion. The theme is still the same. The writer justifies further the righteousness of faith, against the national misgivings of Jewish Christianity. The ancient people of God appeared to be cast back by the free admission of the Gentiles to the salvation of Messiah. This fact was a perplexing one, not only to the Jews, but to the apostle himself. He endeavours to explain it by the unconditional right of divine election and the blindness of the Jews themselves; but adds a consolatory conclusion, that God has not wholly cast away his people; their fall, which is the occasion of salvation to the Gentiles, is only temporary.

Having demonstrated the necessity, and described the plenitude of salvation by faith alone, the apostle might have concluded his argument. But the admission of the Gentiles is too important to be dismissed with brief notices. Feeling that a religion which insists on faith as necessary to salvation had not met with acceptance on the part of the Jews, who rejected it in the spirit of a proud exclusiveness, the apostle expresses his deep sorrow for their unbelief, and offers an explanation of that divine arrangement, in accordance with which the body of the Jewish nation was excluded from the Christian covenant. God's promise to the seed of Abraham had not been frustrated by the rejection of

the people, since there was a spiritual, as well as a fleshly heir. He had selected Isaac to the exclusion of Ishmael, and Jacob in preference to Esau. Nor is there injustice in God's choosing according to his own will. The principle of selection is founded on the divine sovereignty, in the exercise of which He dispenses his mercy as He pleases. There is no ground of objection to this doctrine, because of the uncontrollable necessity imposed on the creature's actions, when Jehovah displays his grace toward some, as He had done to those who were called, and his wrath towards others, as He had done towards the body of the Jewish nation (ix. 1-29).

Having justified God in selecting some and rejecting others according to his good pleasure, and showed that the prophets themselves spoke of the rejection of the Jews and the admission of another people, he states that they were the authors of their own fall. While the Gentiles obtained justification, the Jews had not, because they sought it by works. In their zeal for legal righteousness, they overlooked the righteousness of faith. The writer then digresses to notice the objections of the Jews, and shows that they are disproved by their own prophets who foretold the rejection of the nation and admission of the Gentiles (ix. 30-x. 21). After explaining the divine procedure in rejecting the Jews and calling the Gentiles, the apostle subjoins certain considerations calculated to soothe the minds of his countrymen. God had not wholly cast off his people. He had graciously chosen a remnant to be partakers of salvation. Though the people are given up to their own obduracy as had been predicted in the Old Testament, even in their fall Jehovah had a purpose of mercy. So far from his design *terminating* in the nation's rejection, that very rejection was the means of conferring the privileges of the gospel on the Gentile world. And the Gentiles have no reason to cherish feelings of proud superiority

relative to the Jews. After they are converted, Israel will be saved.

A patriotic feeling influences the apostle in saying that Israel will be saved, after all. It is the wish of his heart. He hopes that the fulness of the Gentiles may usher in the salvation of the Jewish nation. The subject is concluded with an ascription of praise to God, whose perfections are unsearchable and ways past finding out ; who dispenses all blessings according to his will (xi. 1-36). It will be observed that the apostle ceases to direct his view to the Jewish Christians, and turns to the Gentile part of the church, at the eleventh verse of the 11th chapter. The transition is informal but not the less noticeable.

The practical or hortatory part of the epistle is contained in chapters xii.-xiv. Here the admonitions are partly general, referring to Christian life under all aspects, and partly adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the Roman church. The 12th chapter enjoins personal holiness, unity, humility, and the Christian graces generally. The 13th commands subjection to the existing civil powers ; honesty ; mutual love enforced by the near approach of the day of the Lord. Here Jewish Christians are specially in view. Apprehension was felt lest they should continue to cherish the sentiments they held respecting heathen rulers before they became Christians, and be tempted to rebel against the government. They submitted to the Roman yoke with uneasiness. Looking at the oppression they had to endure under it, and contrasting their religion with the idolatry of the powers that crushed them, they were inclined to revolt against their rulers. These feelings they carried into the Christian religion. There is no evidence indeed, that the Jewish Christians of the church had become rebels against the reigning authorities, cruel though those authorities were ; but the writer was probably aware of manifestations of feeling which might

prejudice the Christian cause. The subject was delicate and important. The apostle gives it a general bearing, so that the special circumstances which led to its introduction are liable to be forgotten in the universality of its aspect. His doctrine is passive obedience, one that cannot be adopted without harm to the progress of civilisation. Wicked rulers like Nero, usurpers like the first and third Napoleons, should be resisted or dethroned. Civil liberty is opposed to passive obedience. But the times and causes of resistance to tyrants must be carefully considered. What was best for the Roman Christians under Nero, or what the writer inculcates as best generally, is unsuited to all times. Though primitive Christianity did not disturb the existing arrangements of civil society, it does not follow that its spirit allowed bad rulers to act unrestrained.

Chapters xiv.-xv. 13 refer to the mutual treatment of the two classes in the church. Essenism had probably penetrated into the ecclesiastical life of the church.¹ The 'weak' were Jewish Christians who not only observed sabbaths and feasts, but held such Ebionite principles as abstinence from flesh and wine. Their Christianity had an Essene colouring; for such abstinence was practised by the Essenes; but it was Ebionite too. No good reason exists for denying the ordinary Jewish Christianity, coloured as it may have been by Essenism of the majority in the church, and resolving it into an extreme asceticism on the part of a few who were essentially christianised Essenes. This conversion of the weak into an extreme party among the Jewish Christians, leads to the assumption of an opposite extreme among the Gentile Christians, whose freedom was ultra-Pauline. The apostle refers, not to extremes, but merely to the two constituent elements of the church. In relation to the two classes the apostle enforces the principle of charity. The strong and the weak were not to condemn one another, but to live in peace.

¹ Ritschl's *Alt-katholische Kirche*, p. 232, *et seq.* 2nd ed.

The subject of mutual forbearance is resumed at the beginning of the 15th chapter, and receives a more general application to Jews and Gentiles, supported by quotations from the Old Testament. The writer adopts a milder tone, justifying former severity by his ministerial office, which leads him to speak of the success attending his labours, the wide sphere of his activity, especially in fields unoccupied, and his long-projected journey to Rome after he had visited Jerusalem. In anticipation of the dangers and obstacles with which that journey was beset, he requests the prayers of his readers, and concludes with a benediction (xv.).

The 16th chapter contains a recommendation of Phebe the bearer of the letter, various salutations, a warning against persons who caused dissensions, and an ascription of praise to God (xvi. 1-27).

From this brief analysis it appears that the apostle does not follow a determinate plan. The separate parts of his epistle are not elaborated in logical relation to the whole. The sequences and turns of thought, the phrases and connecting particles, result from no studied purpose. Systematic precision cannot be attributed to the work. There may have been a clearly defined outline in the writer's mind when he began, to which he adhered in the main; but great freedom is shown in details. Digressions occur; sudden interruptions of the train of thought by subordinate ideas; parenthetical clauses;¹ plays upon words. There are also repetitions. The apostle reverts to the same thoughts, and expresses them differently. Calm progression towards one conclusion is not his method; retrogression marks his path as well. He breaks off the thread of discourse, and re-

¹ Too many parentheses have been assumed by unskilful interpreters, of which v. 13-17 and ix. 3 are examples. The latter is peculiarly unfortunate ('for I myself did wish to be anathema from Christ'), as if the words referred to the time prior to Paul's conversion; whereas he only expresses, in hyperbolical language, the affection he bore to his countrymen.

turns to it. He avoids saying directly what he had indirectly established, and introduces the utterance of strong feeling instead. Conflicting emotions in his mind influence modes of expression; and convictions are softened by motives of delicacy or ardent love of the nation. Figurative language supplies the place of prosaic statement. Arguments and illustrations from the Old Testament are freely used. The prophets are quoted to show what they did not intend, their words being applied in a sense alien to the connection, or adapted to a particular purpose. Important terms occur in shifting senses, and elude attempts to fasten them to the same ideas. They narrow and widen according to the will of the author or the exigencies of the places they occupy. Thus the words rendered *law*, *creature*, *righteousness*, *justification*, vary in sense even in the same context, refusing to speak the exact alphabet of theologians who disfigure revelation by throwing the sacred writers into one crucible and drawing out a harmonious system; or by confining an author like Paul to a circle of ideas expressed in exact phraseology. Nothing can be more improper than to treat his language as though it were logically precise; to build up doctrinal propositions on isolated sentences, or to make them polished stones in the structure of a creed. His thoughts and phraseology must be taken in their general breadth and bearing. The forcible outpourings of an inspired mind, they can never cease to stimulate and instruct those who read; but they cannot satisfy the speculative and philosophical. Christianity is for all, for the childlike and teachable more than the critical; and the greatest expounder of it, after its Founder, will be better appreciated by the humble-minded learner than the philosopher. The truths on which Paul insists appeal to the moral instincts of man, and while approved by the highest judgment, fail to satisfy scientific processes of argument because they are for mankind in the aggregate, not an

educated portion merely, for humanity as it is, with its broad hopes and fears, its wants and weaknesses, rather than the select few who philosophise about problems remote from the uppermost necessities of the heart.

PARAGRAPHS INTERPRETED.

‘Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. (For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come. But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. For if by one man’s offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.) Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous’ (v. 12–19).

This passage has been minutely canvassed by controversial theologians; and has served as the foundation of current dogmas. It has been built upon with laborious skill, as if it contained important truth which it were unsafe to deny. We must restrict ourselves to

the barest outline of its meaning, leaving the reader to fill it out for himself.

The construction is irregular. There is no clause corresponding to 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned;' the apodosis has to be supplied out of 'who is the figure of him that was to come' (v. 14), because the writer turns aside from the construction at the beginning.

Sin entered into the world by one man, i.e. by Adam; *and death by sin*. Sin is here spoken of as a person. It does not mean what is called *original sin*. The entrance of sin into the world by Adam's act of transgression caused death, i.e. physical death. Whether such death solely, it is difficult to decide, because spiritual and physical death may be comprehended in the one word. The latter was predominant in the apostle's mind; we cannot say that the former was excluded.

And so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned. In consequence of the connection between Adam's sin and death as cause and effect, death came upon all inasmuch as all sinned. Does this language mean that all sinned *in and with* Adam as their representative? The reasoning of the apostle implies an affirmative answer. The transgression of Adam was the transgression of all because of the mystical identity of the race with their representative and head. The sin of the mass was involved in the sin of Adam.

For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law.

This verse meets an objection arising from what the apostle had already asserted, 'where no law is, there is no transgression.' How could all be sinners during the interval which elapsed from Adam to the giving of the Mosaic law, when there was no law? Sin is not charged to men where there is no law.

Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.

Notwithstanding this non-imputation of sin as personal guilt it still existed, as is proved by the fact that men died from Adam to Moses, even though they did not like Adam break a law distinctly promulgated.

Who is the figure of him that was to come. The apostle institutes a comparison between Adam and Christ, representing them as type and antitype. The comparison is rather by way of contrast, for the object of it is to show that greater benefits have resulted from the work of Christ than evils from Adam's fall. The cases of the offence and the free gift are different. If many died through the fall of one, much more has the grace of God, and the gift by grace coming through one man Jesus Christ, abounded to many. There is another contrast. The effects of the offence and of the free gift are condemnation and justification—condemnation to many, arising from one man's offence; justification, after many offences, by one man's righteousness.

The eighteenth verse resumes the parallel begun at the twelfth, and puts the particulars of similarity and dissimilarity together. As by one offence judgment came upon all men to condemnation, so the free gift came upon all men to justification of life, by one sentence of justification. The *all* in the first case are the descendants of Adam; so are they in the second, because the sentence of justification has been passed once for all, and brings eternal life to such as appropriate it. Its consequences are available for all and become real as soon as believed. Many were made sinners by the disobedience of one man, and many are made righteous by the obedience of one. How this takes place is not explained. The writer wishes to inculcate the great truth, that the reign of grace exceeds the reign of sin.

The apostle expresses an intimate connection between Adam and his posterity, by means of which Adam's sin and death caused the sin and death of his posterity. 'By one man many were made sinners.' Elsewhere, 'In Adam all die.' Whether he had a definite idea of this connection may be doubted, because he was intent on his parallel. Theologians however have put, or attempted to put, precision into his language, by representing him as teaching that as *all men sinned in and with Adam*, the personal *guilt* of his sin is imputed to each one of his posterity. Such is the doctrine of *original sin*, deduced from the apostle's language. But sin is the act of a conscious being who has a perception of right and wrong; and none can be rightly punished for another's sin, else the Judge of all the earth would act contrary to the moral sense He has implanted. If the language mean that 'Adam's sin was as truly the sin of every one of his posterity, as if it had been personally committed by him,' principles are attributed to God at variance with his moral perfections. The utmost that the apostle can mean is, that all were placed in the position of sinners, that their *objective relation* to God was determined at once and for ever by the sin of Adam, so that they are under sentence of death from the first. He does not take into account the *subjective moral condition* of individual men; but looks at them in the mass as comprehended in Adam and brought into a new objective relation to God by their sin with the head. They are under sentence of condemnation, in a state of alienation from God antecedently to any act of their own, as is shown by the universal reign of death—the death even of infants. It agrees with the doctrine of Paul to say that all die *penally* because of Adam's sin which was also their sin; but it disagrees with his language to say that *every individual* incurs *guilt* on account of Adam's transgression; because guilt is that state of a moral

agent which results from the actual commission of sin.

In explaining these passages, it should never be forgotten that the language is that of a speculative mind of mystic tendency adapting Jewish ideas to a Christian creed, and employing phraseology arising out of a peculiar idiosyncrasy. Paul was not a western logician conducting a train of reasoning; but a man of strong feeling drawing comparisons to set forth one or two ideas; inexact in language, using single words without studied selection, careless of construction or syntax. His doctrinal statements apart from their surroundings or limitations should not be pressed into modern church creeds.

‘What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me. Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful. For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not; for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know, that in me, (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present

with me ; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I do not : but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man : But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God ; but with the flesh the law of sin ' (vii. 7-25).

This paragraph is perplexing to interpreters. As the language of it is not consistent, and opposite states of feeling are expressed in various clauses, commentators have been at a loss about the general meaning. The leading question which arises on its perusal is : Does the apostle speak of a regenerate or unregenerate man ? Before attempting an answer, it should be stated, that however the language may appear to change in the latter part, there is no good reason for dividing the paragraph into two, and appropriating them to such different persons as the unregenerate and regenerate respectively. Verses 7-14 and 15-25 refer to the same state of mind. As to the main point, whether the unrenewed or renewed man is described, a categorical answer should not be asked ; but if it be, it should be in favour of the former. Both classes of commentators—those who apply it to Christians and such as refer it to the unregenerate—are compelled to modify phrases which seem to stand in their way, as soon as they attend to grammatical or linguistic considerations. When the paragraph is looked at from a modern standpoint it does not belong either to the unregenerate or to the regenerate alone, because, as Jowett truly says, ' Man-

kind are not divided into regenerate and unregenerate, but are in a state of transition from one to the other, or too dead and unconscious to be included in either.' The writer describes a conflict in the soul, from its being awakened to a consciousness of sin by the law, till its emancipation and victory spoken of in the commencement of the eighth chapter. There is no progression in the combat. The state is not one that presupposes a mystic union with Christ, or a new creation through him—a state which man enters by reception of the divine spirit (*πνεῦμα*); but that crisis of the natural condition when man first attains to a knowledge of God's will as revealed in the law; when sin becomes subjective, and consciousness of transgression is awakened. Still the sinful tendency inherent by nature in the flesh continues; and the inner man cannot overcome it. Though conscious of transgressing the law he cannot free himself from the bondage of corruption. The victim remains the slave he was before; and nothing but an act of God, mortifying the sinful flesh under which he groans, can deliver him.

The *I* is more an ideal person than the apostle himself. As the nature is divided into flesh and spirit, the *I* hovers between them. And as to the law spoken of, the writer had regard to the Mosaic law more than any other, though the law written in the heart may have been in his thoughts.

The state described is to some extent ideal. Few pass through its stages. Deep consciousness of sin, with imperfect views of the love of God and of the moral law, will often produce a spiritual conflict in strong minds. It was so with Luther. The experience of the apostle himself supplied some of the moods which he exhibits. The goodness of law, as well as its impotence, are seen in the description. The condition is not a mere *law-state*, in the sense of the old divines;

much less is it what they call a *gospel-state* of mind. The lower nature is influenced by the law; and though the will is awake, it cannot carry out its determinations. Here as in other parts of the epistle, the writer uses the language of strong feeling, and paints the phases of a mind conscious of sin, in shifting colours, agreeably to the varying shades of light and darkness which pass over it. His theology may consist with the orthodoxy that divides mankind into two distinct classes; but it disagrees with rational conceptions of human nature. In any case it is unwise to press his phraseology into the service of theological systems, as Augustine did against Pelagianism. The further it is kept from the crucible of controversialists, the more intelligible it becomes. Why should there be so great anxiety to make it suit either the regenerate or the unregenerate man, as if the states of mind characteristic of each could be separated? Is there no transition of the one into the other—no blending of spiritual with unspiritual states of mind? Does not the flesh often get the better of the spirit in the Christian? Does not the spirit often control the flesh in him who is but half Christian in character and action?

It obscures the interpretation of vii. 7–25, to bring it into antithesis to viii. 1–17, as Tholuck does after Turretin. The two are not antagonistic, descriptive of non-Christian and Christian character respectively; the one may issue in the other. The triumph of the spirit over the flesh is the happy end of the unequal combat described so vividly in vii. 7–25. The two complete the description of a state in which the awakened conscience, struggling to get free from the trammels of guilt, suffers many reverses, but is at length released from the painful conflict. The triumph is complete, though seldom realised without recurring struggles.

The four epistles of Paul, viz. to the Romans, to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, have been the object of

recent attacks, though they had been generally considered authentically Pauline. The Dutch theologians Loman, Pierson, Naber, Völter, Van Manen, with the Swiss professor Steck, have impugned their Pauline authorship, especially that of the Galatian epistles. But defenders have not been wanting, such as Gloël, Lindemann, Schmiedel, Lipsius, Scholten, Godet, Holsten, Hilgenfeld, and others. Doubtless the letters contain difficult matters arising out of a comparison of the Paul of Acts with him of the Galatian epistle; but these are not removed by relegating the four letters in question to A.D. 120–140, by finding imaginary dependences on the gospels, or by sacrificing their credibility to the historical truth of the Acts. The tendency of the latter secures the authenticity of the former.

The real Paul is seen in six epistles, in the four already mentioned, with those to the Philippians and Philemon. As to the apostle, his dogmatic system is based on the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. Though acquainted with some at least of the leading facts of the master's earthly life, the risen Christ occupied his thoughts much more. The former he seldom touches, deeming it of little account; being chiefly occupied with the latter. At the same time he evolves much out of his own consciousness. A visionary to some extent, he translates the subjective into the objective. Tradition supplied him with some material; his own subjectivity with more. Judaism was the prime element in his theology, and Hellenism was not absent. Paulinism though an original is a composite system.

The arguments adduced against Paul's leading epistles are for the most part arbitrary and extravagant, showing inability to estimate the true nature and value of evidence. As this wave of hypercriticism is rejected by the best critics of Germany and will soon

pass away, if indeed it has not already done so, it is needless to describe it, or to show its futility. Whatever permanency it may have is in the minds of ingenious seekers after novelty; but it is devoid of interest for English theologians. The Pauline authorship cannot be shaken by shadowy or conjectural evidence.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

THE PERSON TO WHOM THE EPISTLE WAS ADDRESSED.

PHILEMON was a person of distinction in the church at Colossæ, remarkable for his Christian activity and hospitality. The position he occupied among the believers there is unknown. The apostle calls him his *fellow-labourer*, an appellation which has led many to suppose that he filled an office, either that of elder or deacon. The title does not necessarily indicate office. Ecclesiastical tradition makes him bishop at Colossæ, and a martyr in Rome under Nero. According to Michaelis, his house was a spacious one, because a part of the Christian community assembled and travelling Christians were entertained in it. Others suppose that his premises were not extensive, because the apostle requested him to prepare a lodging in a hired house, where he might receive all that came to him. It is probable that he was a man of substance in the place. The nineteenth verse of the epistle addressed to him shows that he had been converted by Paul, perhaps at Ephesus, for there is no evidence that the apostle was ever at Colossæ. Benson¹ argues that Philemon received the gospel from some of Paul's converts or assistants such as Timothy or one of the persons mentioned in Coloss. iv. 10, etc., and in Philemon (verse 23). His conversion would thus be owing to the apostle *indirectly*. But the expressions in the nineteenth verse

¹ *Paraphrase on the Epistle to Philemon*, p. 338.

are too strong for this. If some of the Colossians went to Ephesus and heard Paul preach there, may not Philemon have been one of them?

Philemon had a church in his house, not consisting, as some suppose, of the members of his own family merely but of other believers. Along with him is mentioned Archippus, the same person spoken of in the epistle to the Colossians (iv. 17). Many think he was Philemon's son, and Apphia Philemon's wife. All seem to have been connected by family ties, or to have belonged to the little circle termed *the church in the house*; else Apphia would not have been introduced into a private letter. Onesimus, Philemon's slave, has been metamorphosed by tradition into bishop of Bercæ in Macedonia, and is said to have suffered martyrdom at Rome. Others identify him with Onesimus bishop of Ephesus, so that Ephesus becomes Philemon's place of abode. Such is Hitzig's opinion.¹ But the Onesimus of Ephesus was a different person from him who is spoken of in our epistle.²

OCCASION OF THE LETTER.

The slave Onesimus had run away from his master at Colossæ, fearing punishment for some crime or act of disobedience. It has been thought that he robbed Philemon (verses 11–18). The eighteenth verse, in which the word translated *wronged*³ is explained by the verb *owes*,⁴ may refer to *theft, something taken from* his master, but not necessarily so. Another opinion is, that he had been idle and had run away to escape work; in which case the loss of service is referred to in the eighteenth verse. The language appears to us to denote some act of theft.

Having found Paul at Rome, he had been converted

¹ *Zur Kritik paulinischer Briefe*, p. 81.

² See Ignat. *ad Ephes.* i. 6.

³ ἡδίκησε.

⁴ ὀφείλει.

to the Christian faith. Perhaps he had known the apostle before.

It is unnecessary to suppose that Philemon was keen and obstinate in his resentments, to account for the solicitude shown by the apostle in the matter. As far as we can gather from the letter, his disposition was benevolent. If Paul despatched Tychicus to Colossæ, he took the opportunity of sending Onesimus back to his master with the present epistle, recommending him to his confidence.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The time and place of writing are determined by the epistle to the Philippians. The apostle was a prisoner either at Cæsarea or Rome. In favour of the former, Hilgenfeld refers to the request of the writer that a lodging should be prepared for him in Colossæ, because he hoped for a speedy release. He considers that a date prior to A.D. 61 is implied, in which year Colossæ was partially destroyed by an earthquake; and that the mention of Epaphras, the writer's fellow-prisoner, of Mark who had a house in Jerusalem, of Aristarchus and Luke, who had accompanied Paul to Cæsarea (Acts xx. 4, 5), and afterwards to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2), suits Cæsarea best. These considerations are not conclusive. If the apostle expected a speedy deliverance from captivity, why should he go to Phrygia rather than Rome, the place he was proceeding to when detained at Cæsarea? As to the earthquake, we do not know if Colossæ suffered with Laodicea. Tacitus speaks of the latter alone. Eusebius indeed says that the Laodicean earthquake affected Hierapolis and Colossæ as well as Laodicea; but he puts it in the tenth year of Nero. There is no reason for disturbing the old opinion that Paul was prisoner at Rome when he wrote this letter. Onesimus had charge of it. It should be dated A.D. 62, and was the first of those written in the Roman captivity.

AUTHENTICITY.

The authenticity was first questioned by Baur, whose ingenuity supplied several arguments in support of his opinion. He was followed by Holtzmann, who examines the epistle minutely, and discovers in it the use of the Colossian and Ephesian epistles, or rather a simultaneousness of situation, expression and ideas belonging to the three epistles which brings the present one into the second century. His essay is more ingenious than convincing.¹

Supposed allusions to it in the Ignatian epistles must be omitted as irrelevant. The three places which Kirchofer quotes from the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, and Polycarp are too remote to be trusted. The earliest writer who expressly alludes to it is Tertullian: 'This epistle alone has had an advantage from its brevity, for by that it has escaped the falsifying hands of Marcion. Nevertheless, I wonder that when he receives one epistle to one man, he should reject two to Timothy, and one to Titus, which treat of the government of the church.'² Here it is asserted that Marcion received it into his canon.

It is in the Muratorian list.³

Origen speaks of it thus: 'Which Paul being aware of, in the epistle to Philemon said to Philemon about Onesimus,' etc.⁴ Again: 'As Paul says to Philemon, "We have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother."'⁵

¹ See Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1873, p. 428, etc.

² 'Soli huic epistolæ brevitās sua profuit, ut falsariās manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen cum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit.'—*Adv. Marcion.* v. 42.

³ See Credner's *Zur Geschichte des Canons*, p. 76.

⁴ ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐπιστάμενος, ἔλεγεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλήμονα ἐπιστολῇ τῷ Φιλήμονι περὶ τοῦ Ὀνησίμου, κ.τ.λ.—*Homil. in Jerem.* 19.

⁵ 'Sicut Paulus ad Philemona dicit, Gaudium enim magnum habui-

Elsewhere: 'Of Paul it was said to Philemon, "Being such an one as Paul the aged," since he was a young man when Stephen was stoned for the testimony of Christ, and he kept the garments of them that slew him.'¹

Eusebius also includes it in the canon.² Jerome, commenting on the epistle, alludes to some who either rejected or made objections to it; and in answering the objections affirms that it had been always received by all the churches.³

In the time of Jerome⁴ there were some who did not receive it, asserting that it had been rejected by most of the ancients, which was a mistake. From the unimportant nature of its contents, these doubters supposed either that it did not proceed from Paul, or that he wrote it in his private, unapostolic capacity.

According to Baur, the language is unpauline. A considerable number of expressions do not appear in Paul's writings, but only in the epistles of questionable authenticity, such as *fellow-soldier* (2) figuratively, occurring in the pastoral epistles, *to enjoin that which is convenient* (8), *the aged* (9), *unprofitable, profitable* (11), *to receive* (15), *repay, owe* (19), *to have joy of* (20), *a lodging* (22), the thrice repeated *bowels*, a word, however, not unpauline.⁵ It is also said, that the letter contains improbabilities; that it exhibits the beginning of a romance literature, like the Clementine homilies, the tendency of the romance being to show that what

mus, et consolationem in charitate tua, quia viscera sanctorum requieverunt per te, frater.'—*Comment. in Matt. tract. 34.*

¹ 'De Paulo autem dictum est ad Philemona, Hunc autem ut Paulus senex, cum esset adolescentulus quando Stephanus pro Christi testimonio lapidabatur, et ipse vestimenta servabat interficientium eum.'—*Ibid. tract. 33.*

² *Hist. Eccles. iii. c. 25.*

³ *Comment. in Ep. ad Philem.—Opp. vol. iv. p. 442.*

⁴ *Proœm. Comment. in Ep. ad Philem.*

⁵ συστρωτήτης, ἐπιτάσσειν τὸ ἀνῆκον, πρεσβύτης, ἄχρηστος, εὐχρηστος, ἀπέχειν, ἀποστίνειν, προσοφείλειν, σου ὀναίμην, ξενία, σπλάγχνα.

is lost on earth is gained in heaven. If we suppose that Paul and Onesimus were previously acquainted, and that the latter went to the apostle when he began to repent of his flight, no room will be left for that peculiar coincidence of accidental circumstances which Baur finds in the letter.¹

Holtzmann assumes two interpolations proceeding from the author of the epistle to the Ephesians, viz. verses 1, 4-6, which is an improbable conjecture.

CONTENTS.

The apostle states the case of Onesimus to Philemon, and entreats him to receive his servant again, not as a slave but as a Christian brother. The first three verses contain the dedication and salutation. After this the writer thanks God for what he had heard of Philemon's faith and love towards the Lord Jesus and all saints, expressing his joy that he had behaved so generously to Christians (1-7). The proper subject of the letter begins at the eighth verse, and is continued till the twenty-first. As an apostle, he might have enjoined Philemon to do what Christian principle required in respect to Onesimus; but he rather chooses, as the aged² prisoner of Christ, to beseech him to receive Onesimus, for though the latter had behaved improperly he was now a different person. Paul might have retained him to minister to himself, but would do nothing without Philemon's consent. Providence had made his departure the means of his reformation, that his master might receive him for ever, not as a slave but a brother. He therefore entreats Philemon to take him back, promising to pay or requite the master for any wrong the

¹ *Paulus der Apostel*, pp. 475-480.

² Notwithstanding Bentley's opinion that *πρεσβύτης* means here 'ambassador,' and the confidence with which it is asserted by Westcott and Hort, the usual sense should be retained as much more probable, being supported by the Septuagint use of the word.

slave had done, should the former require it. But he is confident that the master will exceed the request (8-21). In the last four verses the writer desires Philemon to provide him a lodging, sends salutations from several fellow-labourers, and wishes his correspondent the rich communication and continual presence of the favour of Jesus Christ.

The nineteenth verse shows that the apostle wrote the letter himself, to make the effect certain. Bertholdt's inference from it, that the preceding portion did not proceed from the apostle's own hand, is incorrect.

The letter is a friendly not a doctrinal one, and relates to a private matter between Philemon and his slave. But though it is of little importance as a public document referring to Christian truth or history, it is not without use, because it serves as a practical commentary on Coloss. iv. 6, putting Paul's character in a light which none other of his writings exhibits. The qualities which dictated its composition are eminently attractive. Dignity, generosity, prudence, friendship, affection, politeness, skilful address, purity, are apparent. Hence it has been called with great propriety, *the polite epistle*. True delicacy, fine address, consummate courtesy, nice strokes of rhetoric, make it a unique specimen of the epistolary style. It shows the perfect Christian gentleman.

Doddridge has compared it to an epistle of Pliny supposed to have been written on a similar occasion, pronouncing it far superior as a human composition; though antiquity furnishes no example of the epistolary style equal to that of the younger Pliny to Sabinian.

The opinion advocated by Wieseler¹ and Thiersch² that the epistle to the Laodiceans, mentioned in Coloss.

¹ *Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalt. u. s. w.*, p. 452, *et seq.*

² *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts u. s. w.*, p. 424, note 46.

iv. 16, is identical with the present one to Philemon, rests on mere assumptions—such as, that our letter was not addressed to Philemon alone but also to Archippus; and that both belonged to Laodicea. Nothing appears to us more certain than that they were members of the Christian community at Colossæ.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

SOME CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH PHILIPPI.

PHILIPPI belonged originally to Thrace, but was afterwards reckoned to Macedonia. According to Diodorus Siculus the old name was Crenides, from numerous springs in its vicinity. It was situated on a rising ground about nine miles inland, north-west of its harbour Neapolis. Philip, perceiving the importance of the situation, repaired and enlarged the town, fortifying it against the incursions of the Thracians; and from him it was called Philippi (B.C. 358). The battles fought near it are remarkable in history, especially the second.

The writer of the Acts notices it thus: 'which is the first place of the district, a city of Macedonia, a colony,' words that give rise to diversity of opinion. When Paulus Æmilius conquered Perseus, he divided Macedonia into four parts or regions; and Philippi was assigned to the first of them with Amphipolis as its capital. The most natural interpretation is, the first Macedonian city at which one coming from proconsular Asia would arrive; Neapolis belonging to Thrace not to Macedonia. Thus the adjective *first* respects *locality*. But many refer it to *political rank*, translating 'a *chief* city of that part of Macedonia.'

The apostle Paul visited Philippi on his first missionary journey, accompanied by Timothy; and preached in a Jewish *proseucha* or temporary place of worship.

But he suffered severe treatment at the hands of the selfish heathen and magistrates of the place, by whom he was imprisoned. After a short stay he left the city (Acts xvi.). During his absence, Luke, Timothy, Epaphroditus, and perhaps Clement, laboured to enlarge and strengthen the church he had founded. He visited it again on his second missionary tour (Acts xx.).

Philippi was the first European town that received the gospel, the standard of divine truth being planted where contending armies had met. While historians of Rome will point to Philippi as the scene of a memorable struggle, and lament the fallen Brutus the stern defender of his country's freedom, religious historians will prefer to speak of a spiritual victory achieved by Christianity. Brutus and Cassius, Augustus and Antony, vanish from the view of enlightened patriotism before Paul and Silas, Luke and Epaphroditus,—victors nobler far than blood-stained Romans at the head of armies.

AUTHENTICITY.

External testimonies in favour of the Pauline authorship are abundant and unanimous. Thus the supposititious Polycarp writes to the Philippians: 'For neither I nor any one like me, can reach the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul . . . who also, when absent, wrote to you letters, into which if ye look ye will be able to edify yourselves in the faith which has been given you.'¹

Again: 'But I have neither perceived nor heard any such thing in you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who are [praised] in the beginning of his

¹ οὗτε γὰρ ἐγώ, οὗτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, ὃς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς εἰς ἃς εἰς ἐγκύπτειτε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν, κ.τ.λ.—*Ep. ad Philipp.* c. iii.

epistle. For he glories in you in all the churches which alone knew God then.’¹

Irenæus says: ‘As Paul also says to the Philippians: “I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God.”’²

The following occurs in Clement of Alexandria: ‘When Paul confesses of himself, “Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect,”’ etc.’³

Tertullian writes: ‘Of which (hope) being in suspense himself, when he writes to the Philippians, “If by any means,” says he, “I might attain to the resurrection of the dead: not as though I had already attained, or were perfected.”’⁴

In the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, the following quotation occurs from the second chapter: ‘who also were so far followers and imitators of Christ, “Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God,”’ etc.’⁵

In modern times the authenticity has been questioned. Schrader took exception to iii. 1–iv. 2. Baur and Schwegler rejected the Pauline authorship of the whole, and were followed by Volkmar, F. Hitzig, Hoekstra, Hinsch, Kneucker,⁶ and especially by Holsten.⁷

¹ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ἐνόησα ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδὲ ἤκουσα, ἐν οἷς κεκοπίακεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, οἵτινές ἐστε ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ· περὶ ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καυχᾶται, αἱ μόναι τότε θεὸν ἐπεγνώκεισαν.—*Ep. ad Philipp.* c. xi.

² ‘Quemadmodum et Paulus Philippensibus ait: Repletus sum, acceptis ab Epaphrodito quæ a vobis missa sunt, odorem suavitatis, hostiam acceptabilem, placentem Deo.’—*Adv. Hæres.* iv. 18, 4, p. 1026, ed. Migne.

³ αὐτοῦ ὁμολογούντος τοῦ Παύλου περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· Οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον, κ.τ.λ.—*Pædagog.* lib. i. p. 107, D. See also *Stromata*, iv. p. 511 A.

⁴ ‘Ad quam (justitiam) pendens et ipse, quum Philippensibus scribit, si qua, inquit, concurram in resurrectionem quæ est a mortuis; non quia jam accepi, aut consummatus sum.’—*De Resurrect. Carnis*, c. xxiii.

⁵ οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτων ζηλωταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ.—*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* v. 2.

⁶ *Die Anfänge des Römischen Christenthums*, pp. 36, 40, 48.

⁷ See vols. i. and ii. of the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*.

Baur's arguments, founded on the passage ii. 5-8, as if it referred to Gnostic ideas, are now antiquated; and Holsten concedes that the christology of the epistle is Pauline. Much, however, depends on its true explanation. It would be out of place to enter at length on its discussion and canvass the different views taken of it. All that we can do is to intimate our opinion in the shortest way. 'Being in the form of God' is nearly equivalent to 'the image of God,' and 'an effulgence of his glory;' expressions in other epistles. 'The being equal with God' is the object of robbery or seizure.¹ And the sense is, who existing in the form of God, a personality consisting of spirit, a pre-existent being, did not look upon equality with God as a thing to be grasped at, but emptied himself by laying aside the form of God and taking upon him the form of a servant. He did not grasp at something beyond and above what he had already, but did the very opposite in divesting himself of what he possessed. He gave up the heavenly dignity and assumed the condition of a servant in a body of flesh. The Philippians are exhorted to practise the duty of unselfish, self-sacrificing love by the high pattern of one who did not arrogantly catch at supreme sovereignty or equality with God, but abased himself by descending from his pre-existent state or rather by veiling his personality in an earthly body even that of a slave. According to this interpretation, the contrast between what Christ would have done had he selfishly caught at equality with God is set over against what he actually did in emptying himself. Instead of aiming at absolute supremacy, that is, at equality with God, he did the very reverse. The passage is similar to 2 Corinthians viii. 9, where Christ's possession of premundane dignity or glory is said to have been given up by his taking a form of flesh. It is

¹ We take ἀρπαγμός as equivalent to ἀρπαγμα, the thing to be seized. See Grimm in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1873, p. 38, etc.

the same thing which is freely surrendered here, viz. heavenly glory—the form of God. The subordination of Christ to the Father is implied in the present passage, as it is in the other epistles of Paul.¹

The Pauline idea of Christ, contained in his authentic epistles, supposes him to be the pre-existent, heavenly, ideal man, the medium of creation, the organ through whom the divine government is conducted, our Lord, the Son of God. His person consisted of *pneuma* and *doxa*: the former not identical with a *human soul* which Paul's anthropology seems to have excluded; the latter forming its bright surrounding. When he appeared on earth, he laid aside the spiritual body and assumed an earthly or fleshly one. The transition was merely from one form of existence to another. Instead of retaining the spiritual body of divine glory, he took an earthly one out of human flesh. In the body of light or glory he was 'in the form of God;' the body of flesh constituted 'the form of a servant.' The apostle knew nothing of a supernatural generation, for he speaks of Christ as 'made of the seed of David according to the flesh.' At the end of the world the dominion belonging to him as the Son is to be given up that God may be all in all. His position and functions are to cease. He

¹ See the laboured, artificial, and incorrect notes of Bishop Lightfoot in his *Commentary*, in which *μορφή*, meaning 'outward form' (not equivalent to *φύσις* or *οὐσία*), is said to imply 'not the external accidents, but the essential attributes.' As the bishop believes that the conception of the divinity of Christ involved in the context is 'eternal existence,' it is not easy to see how Christ could divest himself of this 'essential attribute.' The apostle's language teaches that Christ pre-existed in heaven as a being invested with a body of heavenly light or glory (*δόξα*), so that he was *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* (2 Cor. iv. 4), equivalent to *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*, which luminous body he laid aside when he humbled himself and took an earthly one. The heavenly glory, the luminous appearance pertaining to his pre-existent state, the splendour enveloping his person he put off when entering upon the poor condition of his earthly life. He was in heaven a *πνεῦμα* in a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. The bishop is wrong in his interpretation of *μορφή θεοῦ*, which means 'quality or mode of existence,' not 'the essence of existence;' for Christ could not be said 'to empty himself' of the latter.

does not return to the same pre-existent state as before, but to the condition of other creatures to which he never properly belonged. Here is an incongruity which the fourth gospel avoids by representing the putting off of his glory as merely temporary, so that he returns to the full possession of the powers and functions he had before. According to Paul, he enters into a new condition; in the theology of the fourth gospel, he goes back to the original one, the pre-existent state having been merely interrupted.

The peculiarity of this christology is the idea that the pre-existent glorious Christ, so far from grasping at a possession out of reach, humbled himself even to the ignominious death of the cross, becoming thereby an example of lowly-mindedness. The thing out of reach was equality with God, and the interpretations which assume that such was his rank before the humiliation are incorrect. The words *form*, *likeness*, *fashion*, *being found*,¹ properly understood, are not docetic; and the whole passage, so far as it relates to the pre-existence of Christ, harmonises with Pauline doctrine. The Philippian writer speaks of the premundane mode of existence, in which the Son did not clutch at equality with the Father, but condescended to assume the earthly form of a slave. Although therefore attempts have been made to represent the christology of the passage before us as different from Paul's, it is really the same; and not Johannine as some think.²

Unpauline particulars are said to appear in the epithet *dogs* (iii. 2), who however are elsewhere called *false apostles*, *deceitful workers* and *Satan* himself (2 Cor. xi. 13, 14). The *concision* (iii. 2) is explained by the *excision* referred to in Gal. v. 12. The apostle, we allow, speaks severely of the Jewish Christians; but he had already uttered as hard words of similar persons in

¹ μορφή, ὁμοίωμα, σχῆμα, εὐρεθείς.

² Comp. Pfleiderer's *Paulinismus*, vol. i. p. 146, English version.

the second epistle to the Corinthians, ii. 17 (chapters x.-xiii.), as well as in that to the Galatians. His tone becomes calmer and more moderate after iii. 2, with the exception of iii. 19, till he leaves the subject at iv. 1.

But is not the severe tone adopted at the beginning of the third chapter inconsistent with the mildness used in chapter i. 15-18? How could the apostle rejoice in the fact of the Jewish Christians preaching Christ either in pretence or in truth, and afterwards denounce them as 'evil workers?' We reply, that he speaks of Judaisers in different places and in relation to different surroundings. In the first chapter they are in Rome, acting mainly upon the heathen population there, so that he could look upon their endeavours to win over such to Christ with a degree of satisfaction. It was otherwise with a church he himself had founded and taught. Warning the Philippians against Jews who might undo his work among them, he employs language similar to that directed against the persons who had marred the effect of his liberal doctrine in other Gentile churches. The Judaic Christians in Rome were otherwise circumstanced. Instead of directly thwarting the Pauline gospel, they might contribute to its final success by first bringing the ignorant heathen to an acquaintance with Christ, and an apprehension of his vicarious death, which the apostle himself had reached. Nor can we see that the contributions alluded to in iv. 15-18 excite suspicion, as if they were meant to support a fictitious situation of the apostle. When Baur says that they disagree with 1 Cor. ix. 15, and are derived from 2 Cor. xi. 9, he overlooks the fact that Paul himself, in the latter passage, says he took contributions from other churches.

Holsten's arguments are different from Baur's, more acute and exhaustive. According to this critic the date is nearer 70 A.D. than 90. Yet with all its plausi-

bility the reasoning is often strained. There is indeed a perceptible difference between the apostle's manner in this epistle and that of the four larger ones, less definiteness of doctrine throughout, more affectionate exhortation, milder polemic against Judaisers; but the state of the believers at Philippi differed from that of other churches. It is specially urged that the christological passage ii. 6-8 gives an unpauline view of Christ's pre-existent state; but too much importance is attached by Holsten to the word *man* in 1 Cor. xv. 47.

The disjointed character of the epistle has excited much suspicion. After finishing at ii. 30 it begins again. The Pauline doctrine of justification is apprehended in a subjective way; and the language in iii. 6 is very different from that of Paul in the 7th chapter of the epistle to the Romans. These and other variations are not weighty. Allowance should be made for differences of conception in the same writer at different times.

A discrepancy exists between the ideas of i. 23 and 1 Cor. xv. 37-44 respecting the resurrection body; the former expressing Paul's expectation of being with Christ immediately after death, participation in the glorified Redeemer's life at once; the latter, the development of the resurrection-body out of a germ which existed in the person even during earthly life. The immediateness of a blissful state does not harmonise well with the evolution of a new organisation.

A parallel view to Philippians i. 23 occurs in 2 Cor. v. 1-9, especially the sixth verse, where a heavenly clothing or house is assumed to be taken by the spirit immediately when it leaves the body. When the old organic structure is put off, a new and heavenly dress is put on. The mortal flesh gives place to an immortal form of life. Here also there is no room for the germ process indicated in 1 Cor. xv.; for the new house is put on at once when death takes place. Absence from

the mortal body is presence with the Lord in its immortal substitute.

Holsten lays stress upon the number of new words in the epistle, amounting to thirty, and on coincidences with the Colossian epistle. But it is unreasonable to confine a writer to one circle of expressions.¹

UNITY.

Stephen Le Moyne² supposed that the Philippian epistle was divided into two, which were written on different rolls. One, separated into two parts, was reckoned two. By this expedient he explains the plural *letters* in the third chapter of Polycarp's epistle.

Schrader attacked the epistle's integrity, conjecturing that chap. iii. 1-iv. 2 is an unpauline insertion.

Heinrichs³ thought that the epistle is composed of two letters—one addressed to the whole church, consisting of i. 1-iii. 1, ending with 'in the Lord,' together with iv. 21-23; the other, intended for the apostle's intimate friends only, beginning with, 'To write these same things,' iii. 1, and ending with iv. 20. When the New Testament epistles were collected, the two are said to have received their present form and place. The same opinion, modified and corrected, was advanced by Paulus.⁴ The words, 'finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord,' appear to indicate a speedy termination, as the analogy of 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Ephes. vi. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 1, shows. Not that the verb *rejoice*⁵ is necessarily valedictory, meaning *farewell*; but that the adverbial expression rendered *finally* implies a brief summing up of all that the author wishes to add. In 1 Thess. iv. 1, the same formula stands at

¹ See Holtzmann in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1881, p. 102, and *Einleitung*, pp. 303, 304, second edition.

² *Varia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 332, etc.

³ In the prolegomena to his Commentary, published in 1803.

⁴ See Krause's *Opuscula*, pp. 3-32.

⁵ χαίρετε.

a considerable distance from the end of the epistle, as if it belonged to the close of an important topic. Perhaps the original intention was to finish with the second chapter, but when Epaphroditus did not set out immediately or additional information of the Judaisers was received, the author was moved to add a warning against corrupters of the truth. In any case the letter has an interruption at ii. 30, as though the apostle had stopped and begun again; or had written two epistles which were afterwards put together.

NUMBER OF PHILIPPIAN EPISTLES.

Bleek, followed by Lünemann, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Schenkel, and Mangold, thinks that the apostle wrote more than once to the Philippians, deducing that opinion from a few passages in the present letter. In iii. 18, 'For many walk, of whom I have told you often,' i.e. in a former epistle. But the language may also refer to oral communications, as De Wette inclines to believe. Again, 'To write the same things to you' (iii. 1) may mean, 'the same things which I told you in a prior letter.' But this refers to what follows in the present letter. The testimony of Polycarp has been adduced to strengthen the interpretation which supposes a former letter. In the third chapter of his epistle to the Philippians, that father speaks of Paul's 'epistles' to them. But the plural may be used for the singular, and the use of the singular in the eleventh chapter of Polycarp may neutralise the plural of the third chapter. Yet the singular *may* refer to the *more prominent* of the epistles, i.e. the canonical one. Thus these passages afford nothing more than a *presumption* in favour of several epistles, without *proving* that Paul wrote more than one.¹

¹ See Lightfoot on the *Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 136, etc.

TIME AND PLACE.

It is obvious that the present epistle was written during the author's captivity at Rome, A.D. 62 or 63. The expression 'Cæsar's household' (iv. 22) is pretty clear in favour of Rome. Herod could scarcely be called Cæsar. Had Cæsarea been meant, we should expect another phraseology. The word *prætorium* (i. 13) is referred to Cæsarea by Böttger,¹ since it is used of Herod's palace there, and is also applied to the residence belonging to the procurator of a Roman province (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28–33, xix. 9). Here, however, it means *the prætorian cohorts* at Rome, who formed the imperial body-guard. Paul, or at least his fellow-prisoners, were delivered to the prefect of these cohorts. It has also been alleged that Acts xxiii. 35 compared with xxviii. 16 shows Paul to have been kept in the *prætorium* at Cæsarea, whereas in Rome he had his own hired house, and therefore the *prætorium* points to Cæsarea. But the word means the prætorian soldiers rather than their camp.

The letter was written after that to Philemon, when the time of imprisonment was near its end. A considerable period is supposed to have elapsed since his incarceration, so that the good fruit of his ministry had become apparent (i. 12–14): 'But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.' We know too from ii. 26 that Epaphroditus's coming was not very recent. Four journeys in which he was

¹ *Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleit. in die paulinische Briefe*, Abtheilung 2, p. 47, *et seq.*

concerned had taken place; his own arrival and return, with the report of his sickness conveyed to Philippi and back again to Rome. It would also appear that the apostle was almost alone. His friends had gone away, or been sent to different places, except Timothy. Even Luke seems to have been absent (i. 1; ii. 20, 21; iv. 22). In these circumstances the apostle was not without hope of a speedy release. 'But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly' (ii. 24). 'And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith, that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me, by my coming to you again' (i. 25, 26.) This hopeful language, however, is not uniform. Doubts mingled with trust, and therefore he writes, 'According to my earnest expectation and hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all' (i. 20; ii. 17).

It is impossible to find in the epistle indications of any alteration for the worse in the prisoner's outward condition. The *contest* referred to in i. 30 is the opposition he encountered at Philippi, and its effects. The *first sorrow* implied in ii. 27 can only be his captivity generally. Such as seek for an intensification of his captivity, or a change in his circumstances, in these passages, look for what is not in them. The history of Nero's government also fails to prove deterioration in Paul's situation. What though Burrus, the moderate prætorian prefect, died, and Tigellinus came into his place; though Octavia were divorced, and Poppæa married to the emperor; though Seneca lost his influence? These public events could hardly affect a prisoner like Paul, of whom courtiers and generals, senators and empresses would scarcely think. It is therefore a mere

conjecture, that after Burrus's death Paul was treated more severely, being removed from his house, put into the barrack of the prætorian guards, and threatened with death. Neither the epistle nor the history of the time countenances it. We admit that a tone of sadness appears in the letter; but that tone is mingled with hopefulness. Do not these words, 'having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith' (i. 25), express the hope of a speedy release? The epistle may be dated near the end of the Roman captivity, shortly before the writer's death. It is his testament—the last letter he wrote—therefore a melancholy interest attaches to it. Soon after his hopes and fears of the future had found utterance, the noblest sacrifice was offered which the world has witnessed since that of the Master.

The epistle was sent by Epaphroditus, perhaps one of the elders of the church, who had come to Rome with a pecuniary contribution. It was not the first occasion on which that church had expressed its gratitude in the same way. The members had sent presents to the apostle twice before (Phil. iv. 15, 16). He had also partaken of their bounty at Corinth (2 Cor. xi. 9), though he declined to accept eleemosynary help from others. The Philippian messenger was seized with a dangerous illness, which may have arisen from the fatigue of his journey, or from his exertions at Rome in connection with evangelical work; and the news of his malady had reached the church at Philippi, which made him very anxious to return. The apostle himself was desirous to send him back as soon as he recovered. But he was not dismissed without an equivalent for their seasonable present. In return for so great kindness, Paul wrote the present letter to the believers at Philippi, full of ardent affection, and of high esteem for their messenger.

How could the apostle be in want at the time he was relieved by the Philippians? Was he neglected by

the Christians at Rome? It is sufficient, in reply, to refer to his known practice, dictated as it was by extreme delicacy and dignity. He worked with his hands rather than be a burden to the churches, but he could not do so, now that he was a prisoner. The Romans had not been his converts; and he would therefore consider himself unentitled to maintenance from them. He had also enemies in the city, who might ascribe to him interested motives.

STATE OF THE CHURCH.

The Philippian church consisted of Gentile and Jewish Christians, chiefly of the former; and the members generally were not in affluent circumstances. That they were not numerous may be inferred from the extent of the place. Philippi was the smallest city to which the apostle addressed a letter; and its church was neither large nor flourishing.

Some critics have supposed that the Christian society was divided into parties or factions, arising from the efforts of false teachers who insisted on the necessity of circumcision. Judaising Christians, it is thought, had insinuated themselves into it, sowing the seeds of disunion, so that there were two parties, a Jewish Christian and a Gentile Christian one. The passages appealed to for the existence of parties are iii. 1-8, 18, 19; and the admonitions in ii. 2-4, 12, 14; iv. 2, 5, etc., are supposed to intimate the same state. These are insufficient to countenance the hypothesis. The 16th chapter of the Acts shows that there were Jews there, for they had a *proseucha*; and the warning in iii. 2, 3, implies danger from Judaisers; but there is no evidence that the latter had invaded the church or undermined the apostle's teaching. Paul applies a severe name to the Jews, *dogs*, who may have attempted to seduce some of the brethren; he describes them as 'enemies

of the cross of Christ,' more immoral than heretical; but the Philippians were too steadfast to be drawn away. Though he had often warned them of danger, it does not appear from the epistle that they had so far forgotten his principles as to submit to legal observances or range themselves into factions.

The existence of parties in the church has been disproved by Schinz,¹ so that it is hardly necessary to do more than allude to the subject. How then were the Christians there exposed to sufferings and persecution, as we learn from i. 28-30? Were the adversaries of whom the writer tells them not to be afraid Judaizing teachers? The context is unfavourable to this opinion. By the *adversaries* is meant all the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles with whom the Philippian converts came into contact—the Jews and Gentiles who resisted the gospel. These Christians had endured a conflict similar to that which Paul had formerly sustained for expelling the demon from the divining damsel, and to his present opposition from Jews, Judaizing teachers, and heathen magistrates. But the Philippians resisted their adversaries, and steadfastly adhered to the Pauline doctrine.

There was a tendency in the Philippian character to vainglory and pride, as we infer from ii. 3, 4, 15; iv. 5. Their very condition when the apostle addressed them, one of great promise and progress, would be likely to beget spiritual pride.

OCCASION AND OBJECT.

Epaphroditus's return gave rise to the letter. The object of it is to confirm the believers in the faith, and to encourage them in the Christian life. The writer's affection for them is tender and strong. He opens his heart and pours forth his hopes, desires, anxieties, his fervent wishes for their welfare, and gratitude for their

¹ *Die christliche Gemeinde zu Philippi, ein exegetischer Versuch*, 1833.

kindness. The epistle is more subjective than any other of Paul's; richer in expressions of feeling. It has no doctrinal arguments or dialectic reasoning, no citations from the Old Testament or logical plan. No reasoning was needed for confuting error among the Philippians; and therefore the composition is less formal and consecutive; less regular in structure and sequence. There are sudden digressions and breaks in the succession of ideas, especially towards the end. The intimacy subsisting between the writer and his readers furnished free scope for the effusions of his heart; but amid pathos and gentleness he never loses apostolic dignity.

PECULIARITIES IN THE COMMENCEMENT AND CONCLUSION.

It is contrary to Paul's method to specify *bishops* and *deacons* in a general salutation. The reason may be because they had shown great zeal in procuring a money contribution for the apostle. It is also noticeable that the members of the church are spoken of before the office-bearers, a precedence contrary to modern ideas, especially those of the clergy, who are apt to look on the people as an appendage. Several bishops, that is presbyters, are also referred to, which is an evidence of the epistle's early date, before hierarchical notions exalted one presbyter above the rest and assigned him a separate title. In the apostle's time presbyter and bishop were synonymous. The mention of bishops in the plural agrees with other notices. The church at Ephesus had its elders (Acts xx.). Whether all the apostolic churches had a plurality of pastors is uncertain. They were not similarly organised; nor is their constitution a model for modern churches. Ecclesiastical arrangements belong to the department of expediency.¹

¹ Though bishops and elders are synonymous here, zealous advocates of episcopacy like Dr. Salmon wish to get a bishop over the Philippian

The commencement does not mention Paul's apostleship. He associates Timothy with himself because the latter had been with him at Philippi ; both being termed *bondmen* of Jesus. His omission of the apostolic designation may be partly explained by a motive of delicacy. He avoided the use of a title which might suggest a claim to the benefit he had received. Nor had he any reason for asserting his apostolic authority, since there were no factions in the church and no apostasy from the faith. False teachers had not there impugned his apostleship. Paul did not care for a title, as long as there was no cause for associating it with his name. He waived the higher for the lower appellation.

Lardner observes, that the salutations in the conclusion of the epistle are singular, and different from those of the other epistles written about the same time : 'The brethren which are with me greet you ;' 'all the saints salute you.' We do not suppose the brethren to be Mark, Aristarchus, Jesus Justus, Demas, and Luke, who had joined the apostle at Rome ; nor Euodia, Syntyche, and Epaphroditus ; but rather those Christians who were in Paul's immediate circle at Rome, including perhaps Timothy and other fellow-labourers.

Persons belonging to Cæsar's house are particularly mentioned as sending salutations ; Cæsar's freedmen and domestics, servants in the palace. It is doubtful whether any of the emperor's relations are intended, for there is no evidence that his wife Poppæa was a Christian. Neither can Seneca and Lucan be included in the number. Probably the converts were chiefly Jewish slaves ; for Josephus states that he was introduced to Poppæa by a Jewish comedian. It would doubtless rejoice the

church, and fix upon him who is addressed as the writer's 'true yoke-fellow' in iv. 3 ; suggesting Epaphroditus, as Grotius did. The same ardour for early episcopacy catches at the notion that the apostle John found the office already existing in the person of Diotrephes (3 John, verse 9).

Philippians to hear that Christianity had entered Cæsar's palace, and encourage them to expect the prisoner's release.

CONTENTS.

This epistle is the shortest addressed to any church except the (spurious) second to the Thessalonians. The doctrinal and the practical are not separated, as in other Pauline letters, but are more or less blended throughout. It may be divided into six paragraphs: I. i. 1-11; II. i. 12-ii. 18; III. ii. 19-30; IV. iii. 1-iv. 1; V. iv. 2-9; VI. iv. 10-23.

I. The first part is historical, relating to the writer's condition at Rome. After the inscription and salutation, the apostle expresses his gratitude to God on behalf of the Philippians, his continual mention of them in prayer since they received the gospel, and his confident expectation that the work of peace in their hearts would be carried on to completion. He calls God to witness his deep-seated affection for them, praying that their love and knowledge might be still more abundant, and the fruits of their righteousness more manifest (i. 1-11).

II. That the Philippian believers might not be discouraged at what had befallen him, he tells them that God had overruled his imprisonment for good, making it subserve the advancement of the gospel. His bonds had become known in the prætorium and throughout the city; and several had been induced to preach the gospel more fearlessly by the example of his patient fortitude. Not that the motives of all who proclaimed Christ crucified were pure, for some envied the apostle; but as long as Christ was preached, Paul rejoiced. He expresses his confidence that the Redeemer would be magnified either by his life or death, though he thinks it more desirable that he should live a little longer, that he might meet them again joyfully. But whatever

might be the issue of his present captivity, he exhorts them to lead a holy life, to be firmly united in one spirit, and not terrified by their enemies. In pathetic strains he beseeches them to cultivate mutual love, to avoid vain-glory, and to be exceedingly humble in the estimate of their own attainments. To enforce the duty of humility the more impressively, he introduces the example of Christ, who left the glories of the heavenly state to live on earth a life of lowly obedience and suffering. Having referred to Christ's self-abnegation and consequent exaltation, he exhorts them to work out their salvation with fear, remembering that the divine energy was not inactive within them; to avoid murmurings in their sufferings, and disputings for pre-eminence; to be blameless and harmless; and not only to hold fast, but to diffuse, the word of life, that he might rejoice in the day of Christ on their account (i. 12–ii. 18).

III. He promises to send Timothy to them, speaking of him as a disinterested, zealous, affectionate minister, whose excellence was well known. But he expects to be released soon, and to follow Timothy to Philippi. He then gives a reason for sending Epaphroditus in the meantime, mentioning the dangerous sickness of their messenger, his earnest longing to return, and the self-sacrificing fidelity with which he had laboured. Him he commends to their esteem, as a workman worthy of the highest honour (ii. 19–30).

IV. Understanding that there were Jews at Philippi, the apostle warns his readers against them, affirming that the true people of God are those who put no confidence in conformity to the law. Had this law furnished ground for glorifying, *he* might boast of it; for he was descended from Jewish parents, a rigid Pharisee, observing all legal requirements. But he was willing to forego these pretensions for Christ, while seeking justification by faith in His righteousness alone. His great object was to *know* the Saviour, to become experimentally

acquainted with Him in the efficacy of His resurrection, which produces a spiritual resurrection in man and prepares him for glory ; to endure like sufferings with Christ, and being united to Him, to attain to a blessed resurrection from sin. He proceeds to describe his Christian experience as progressive, because he aimed at higher attainments in the Christian life, and therefore exhorts them to follow his example by walking after the rule they had already observed. In contrast with his own aims and conduct he places the practices of the Jews, whom he describes as enemies of the true doctrine—sensual, unclean, selfish. How unlike them was the apostle of the Gentiles with his citizenship in heaven, who was always looking for the Saviour to raise him to a blessed immortality. The Philippians, having the same faith and prospects, are therefore exhorted to stand fast in the Lord (iii. 1–iv. 1).

V. Paul beseeches Euodia and Syntyche, two females in the church, to be reconciled ; entreats his true yoke-fellow to assist several women in their labours, who had maintained the truth of the gospel along with himself and Clement ; and subjoins a few general precepts relating to spiritual joy, moderation, and contentment. Virtue is recommended in the different forms in which the wisdom of ancient philosophers had presented it ; and as the Philippians had seen it embodied in himself, they are enjoined to practise it in its widest aspect (iv. 2–9).

VI. He thanks the believers for the signal proof of their kindness to him, but intimates with true delicacy and nobleness of soul, that he had learned to be contented in whatever circumstances he might be placed ; being prepared to suffer want, or to have an abundance of the conveniences of life, with an equanimity of temper trained in the school of Christ. After stating that he was more pleased with their gift as an evidence of their piety than as a supply of his wants, he encourages

them to expect an abundant fulfilment of their desires from God the Father, to whom he ascribes all the glory. The epistle closes with salutations and the usual benediction (iv. 10-23).

Having finished our examination of Paul's epistles, we may refer to a branch of apologetics into which he has been drawn as a witness to the life and teaching of Christ, with an exaggeration of his testimony to an extent almost equal to that of the four gospels. Paul's temperament was highly nervous. He was epileptic, mystical, to some extent visionary, and the subject of apocalyptic revelations. Images in his mind were often turned into objective phenomena. Subject he was to mental agitations, weak in body, but with an energetic spirit which carried him through hardships under which men of strong bodily constitutions would have sunk. His mental atmosphere was most diversified. Deeply spiritual and receptive, images impressed on it became facts.

The witness borne by such a character to the historical life and teaching of Christ has been viewed by some as of primary importance.

Starting with the assumption of his being a contemporary witness of Jesus's earthly life, zealous theologians have explored his four epistles as a precious mine in favour of both the leading facts and of many details in the life of Christ. Going beyond the Pauline range, they have even examined the epistles of James and Peter with the book of Revelation for the purpose of supplementing or confirming statements in the four gospels. In this way a gospel of Jesus's life has been constructed out of the parts of the New Testament exclusive of those commonly called gospels. The argument has been over-done, and statements and words have been pressed into a service which they are reluctant to support. Apologists have driven their favourite hypothesis to a preposterous extreme—a hypothesis

that requires more delicate handling than they give it; a nicer discernment and a critical skill which they do not possess. Hence their books or parts of books, their essays and periodical contributions are of little value. The mine is not so rich as they imagine. They force the apostle Paul to evidence things for which he would not speak if present. The two great facts on which he insists are Jesus's death on the cross and his resurrection. The rest are subordinate. Indifferent to the mere human Jesus, he dwelt upon the ascended Christ. The dogmatic element in his letters prevailed over the historic. It is doubtful whether he had a written collection of Jesus's sayings and doings; and certainly he had no canonical or Semitic gospel. His knowledge of the historical Christ was mainly derived from tradition, and was probably far from minute. As he transformed ideas into facts, subjective into objective, and *vice versa*, his words should not be pressed as valid evidence of what he had not seen. It is difficult in some cases to distinguish between his traditional knowledge and his visionary revelations.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

AUTHORSHIP.

THIS EPISTLE has been assigned to many authors. Some suppose that it was written by Clement of Rome. It is true that it agrees in many places with Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, even to verbal correspondences;¹ but this proves nothing as long as the latter's authenticity is doubtful. The writer of the letter which bears the name of Clement, borrowed from the treatise addressed to the Hebrews. He wrote in a practical spirit, in language unrhctorical and unperiodic; whereas a speculative character belongs to the epistle to the Hebrews—an Alexandrian tone and colouring which the so-called Clementine author could not have reached.

Others think that it was composed by Barnabas the companion and friend of Paul, on the following grounds:—

(a) Such was Tertullian's view.² It is also advocated by Zahn³ after Credner, Volkmar, Ritschl, and Overbeck; but perhaps this view does not rest ultimately on tradition. Jerome supposed that it was Tertullian's private opinion.

¹ Compare ch. xxxvi. with Hebr. i. 3, etc.; ch. xliii. with Hebr. iii. 2, 5; ch. xvii. with Hebr. iii. 2; ch. xxi. with Hebr. iv. 12; ch. xxvii. with Hebr. vi. 18; ch. ix. with Hebr. xi. 5, 7; ch. x. with Hebr. xi. 8, 9; ch. xii. with Hebr. xi. 33; ch. xlv. with Hebr. xi. 32-40; ch. xix. with Hebr. xii. 1, 2; ch. lvi. with Hebr. xii. 5.

² *De Pudicitia*, ch. xx.

³ In the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Herzog and Plitt, vol. v. p. 668, etc.

(b) The epistle contains traces of Alexandrian gnosis. Barnabas was a Cyprian, and Cyprus was connected with Alexandria in many ways. The island was probably ignorant of Philo. This proves no more than that Barnabas *might have been* the author.

(c) He was a Levite, and therefore well acquainted with the temple worship. Not with the temple at Jerusalem, as Hebr. ix. 1-6 shows; but he may have been with that at Heliopolis, as Wieseler supposes.¹

(d) The epistle contains much that is Pauline, and much that is not, which suits a companion of Paul and one who had some independence at the same time. The remark would apply to others; to Apollos better.

(e) The author does not put himself among the immediate hearers of Jesus (ii. 3); and we learn from Acts iv. 36, 37, that he was a companion of the apostles, with which Tertullian's language agrees. This exegesis is uncertain, because Clement and Eusebius class him among the seventy disciples.

(f) The readers of the epistle assisted the Christians at Jerusalem (vi. 10), which suits Barnabas and Paul (Gal. ii. 10). This presupposes nothing more than a Pauline Church at Jerusalem.

(g) The surname of Barnabas, 'son of exhortation,' i.e. of animated prophetic discourse, accords with the expression, 'word of exhortation,' in xiii. 22. But Paul was the spokesman, according to Acts xiv. 12. To this it has been answered that speaking and writing are different things, not necessarily coinciding in the same person.

(h) The position of the epistle in the Peshito or old Syriac version, favours the Barnabas authorship. The letter was not attributed to Paul, else it would not have been put after epistles addressed to individuals such as Timothy and Titus, but in the middle of the Paulines. Because the framers of the Syrian canon received, be-

¹ *Eine Untersuchung über d. Hebr. Br.* Erste Hälfte, 1861.

sides Paul's thirteen epistles and that to the Hebrews, no more than the epistle of James, the first of Peter and the first of John, it is inferred that they assigned our epistle to a man who could rightfully claim the title of *apostle*, which Barnabas is called in the Acts. Besides, Barnabas and Paul founded the Syrian church at Antioch; and therefore the former could no more be absent from their canon than the latter. Such is Wieseler's reasoning; but Bleek's holds good on the other side.¹

The epistle extant in Barnabas's name cannot be compared with ours, because it was not written by Paul's friend. The hypothesis which makes Barnabas the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, has no good argument in its favour. Against it is the fact that Barnabas's mission was to the Gentiles, according to Gal. ii. 9; which is not fairly met by Wieseler's assumption, that though he had been an esteemed member of the mother church (Acts iv. 36, 37; ix. 27; xv. 25) he could turn to the Gentile Christians, without necessarily leading us to infer from Gal. ii. 13 that he had afterwards fallen back to a Jewish Christian standpoint. Hebrews ii. 3 is against his authorship; and one so much in Jerusalem would have known tabernacle and temple arrangements better than appears in the ninth chapter, especially if he was a Levite.

Others think that Luke had a share in the writing of the epistle, either as translator or as one that expressed Paul's ideas in Greek. This view is apparently mentioned by Origen; and is advocated with variations by Hug, Ebrard, Von Döllinger, and Delitzsch. It rests on linguistic grounds mainly. A considerable number of words and phrases unknown to every other New Testament writer, are common to our epistle and Luke's writings. There are also many correspondent constructions. The language of the epistle is tolerably

¹ *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, erste Abtheilung, p. 417, etc.

pure. The coincident words and phrases are enumerated by Delitzsch¹ and Lünemann; the latter giving them in a collected form.² But there are important differences of diction and periodic structure, which are opposed to sameness of authorship; so much so, that the identity of the author of Luke's writings with the writer of the epistle to the Colossians might be maintained with equal reason, on the ground of similarity of language between our epistle and the third gospel with the Acts.³ It should also be remembered that Luke was a Gentile Christian (Coloss. iv. 14), while the epistle evidently proceeded from a Jew by birth, being cast in a Jewish mould. Jewish feelings and modes of thought pervade it in a manner which Luke's writings, showing a Hellenic character and culture, do not present. It is therefore improbable that Luke wrote the epistle, though the style of the latter half of the Acts comes near it; the language of the gospel being more remote. Whether Luke was the sole author, as Grotius and Crell believed, or he that put Paul's ideas into a written form, the hypothesis is untenable.

To make the indirectly Pauline authorship more probable, an epilogue is assumed by Delitzsch, from xiii. 18 to the end. Ebrard's epilogue is from xiii. 22 to the end. And it is asserted that the words of ii. 3 were allowed to remain, though Paul could not have written them.

Against the hypothesis that Luke wrote under Paul's sanction, may be urged the fact that the doctrinal ideas and terminology are tolerably independent of the apostle; for though they resemble him in some respects, they differ materially in others. The supposed disciple and writer departed from the master so widely as to form characteristic views of his own.

¹ *Commentar zum Hebräerbrief*, p. 707.

² *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, Einleitung, p. 24, etc. Dritte Auflage.

³ See Köstlin in Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1854, p. 429.

Another opinion is that Silvanus or Silas was the writer, which is baseless, though Riehm, following the steps of Mynster, tries to make it probable.

As Tertullian's opinion of the authorship was probably a guess suggested by the fact that Barnabas was a companion of the apostles, the opinions about Clement, Luke, and Silas are traceable to the passage in Tertullian in which he speaks of 'alicujus comitis apostolorum' having to do with the writing of the epistle, and then fixes on Barnabas.

A more prevalent view is that Paul was the author, and many arguments, external and internal, are adduced in its favour. Let us examine the former.

I. The writings of the apostolic fathers are silent on this point. Though several of them show an acquaintance with the epistle, they never mention the author. Clement's letter to the Corinthians has many passages resembling some in ours, as is shown by the parallels which De Wette adduces. Quotations and allusions from Ignatius's epistles were collected by Lardner, and more recently by Forster ;¹ but the letters are forgeries. Neither is the supposititious Polycarp a good witness for the Pauline authorship in question, because the passages in the fourth and twelfth chapters of his epistle, cited by Lardner, are too vague. Two places have been pointed out in the epistle of Barnabas, which are indistinct and uncertain.

The earliest testimony of the Western church, taking that phrase in a sense including Italy, Gaul, and proconsular Africa, is opposed to the Pauline origin. Irenæus († 202) did not attribute it to Paul. This fact rests on the authority of Stephen Gobar, in the sixth century, in a passage preserved by Photius : 'Hippolytus and Irenæus say that the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews is not his.'² This accounts for the cir-

¹ *The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 599, etc.

² *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 232.

cumstance that Irenæus does not employ it against the Gnostic sects, though it would have suited his purpose. Yet Eusebius states that Irenæus was acquainted with the epistle and spoke of it, along with the Wisdom of Solomon, in a work now lost, quoting some passages from both.¹ Did Irenæus put it on a level with the apocryphal book? It is probable that he used it in a subordinate way, because he did not think it to be Paul's. As to the fragment in which Irenæus is supposed to quote Hebr. xiii. 15, as Paul's, its authenticity is more than doubtful.²

Hippolytus (about 200), said to have been a disciple of Irenæus, had the same opinion of the epistle as his master's.

Caius of Rome, at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, held the same view, as we learn from Eusebius.³ The author of the fragment on the canon published by Muratori, does not enumerate the epistle among Paul's.⁴ We suppose that by the epistle 'to the Alexandrians forged in the name of Paul,' he means that to the Hebrews; as Credner, Volkmar, Köstlin, and Wieseler⁵ after Semler believe.

Novatian (250) never quotes or alludes to it, though in two treatises of his still extant, it would have been most suitable to his purpose.

Tertullian († 240) ascribed the letter to Barnabas,⁶ even when adducing a passage which the Montanists made use of (vi. 4, 5); though his interest prompted him to attribute as much authority as he could to the

¹ *Hist. Eccles.* v. 26.

² See Irenæus's *Works*, edited by Stieren, vol. i. pp. 854, 855; and vol. ii. p. 381, etc., ed. 1853.

³ *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 20.

⁴ 'Fertur etiam ad Laudicenses, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine finctæ, ad hæresem Marcionis et alia plura, quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest. Fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit.'

⁵ See Wieseler's *Eine Untersuchung über den Hebräerbrief*, p. 26, et seq.

⁶ *De Pudicitia*, c. 20.

epistle; for the higher its authority, the greater the force of his argument derived from it. Had he known that the epistle was attributed to Paul by early tradition, he would surely have mentioned the circumstance. He states particulars favourable to its credit on the ground of Barnabas's authorship; but if he knew that the catholic Christians rejected or depreciated the letter, he would not have failed to charge them with it. It will not do to say, with Hug, that Tertullian took the epistle for what it was allowed to be by its enemies, and reasoned with such force as to make it, even on this ground, equal to Paul's epistles in value. He was not the man to adopt this course.

Marcion (140) excluded the letter from his canon, for what reason we cannot discover. Having a high regard for Paul, it is likely that he would have adopted the epistle had he thought it to be his. That he might have accepted it as part of his canon is evident from the fact that the Manicheans used the epistle.¹

Cyprian († 258) speaks of seven churches to which Paul wrote; but does not mention the epistle to the Hebrews, or make any use of it. We infer therefore that he considered it un-Pauline. He generally followed Tertullian.

In several MSS. of the old Latin version, the epistle to the Hebrews is separated from Paul's. Thus in the codd. Claromontanus and Sangermanensis, it is divided from them by a general stichometry of Scripture. But it may be *the epistle of Barnabas* mentioned in the stichometry of the Clermont manuscript; for the African church held the Barnabas authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews. In the cod. Boernerianus it is wanting.

Victorinus of Pannonia († 303) is on the same side of the question. In an extant fragment, he speaks, like Cyprian, of there being seven churches which Paul addressed.² If his commentary on the Apocalypse be

¹ Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxvi. c. 74.

² *De Exhort. Martyrii*, c. 11.

authentic, he enumerates in it the seven churches, and speaks of epistles to individuals without any notice of the present one. Passages are repeatedly quoted from Paul's epistles ; none from that to the Hebrews.

Thus the Pauline authorship was disowned in the West till the beginning of the fourth century—a fact which it is difficult to account for except by supposing that there was no early tradition in Italy, Gaul, and proconsular Africa in favour of Paul's authorship. Hug's attempt to show that the opposition presented to the Montanists, who defended their usage respecting lapsed Christians not being received back into the church by Hebr. vi. 4, 5, led to a denial of the Pauline origin, is unsuccessful.¹ Catholic Christians did not so readily renounce the authenticity of sacred writings as Hug's reasoning implies ; nor is there the least proof that Tertullian and Novatian attached the importance to Hebr. vi. 4, 5, which the critic assumes.

Hilary of Poitiers († 368) was the first writer in the West, as far as we know, who received the letter as Paul's. He was followed by Lucifer († 370), Gaudentius († 410), Ambrose of Milan († 397), and Philastrius of Brescia (387). But doubts still lingered. It is not quoted by Optatus of Milevi (370), by Phœbadius of Agen (359–392), and Vincent of Lerins († 450), in Gaul ; nor by Zeno of Verona († 380), Ambrosiaster (366–384), Leo the Great (440–461), and Orosius (415). Isidore of Seville († 636) says that the authorship was considered doubtful by very many Latin Christians, because of the difference of style.

Jerome († 420) and Augustine († 430) favoured the opinion that it was written by Paul ; and the authority of their names contributed to establish it in the West.

The former quotes many passages from the epistle,

¹ *Einleitung in die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, zweiter Theil, pp. 412, 413. Vierte Auflage.

calling it Paul's, or the apostle's.¹ He also refers to peculiarities distinguishing it from other writings of the same apostle, and gives some explanation of them.² At other times, when mentioning or quoting the work he employs expressions of hesitation or doubt, such as, 'if any one is willing to receive that epistle which has been written to the Hebrews, under Paul's name;' ³ 'the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, or whosoever's you suppose it to be;' ⁴ 'Paul the apostle speaks, if any one admits the epistle to the Hebrews;' ⁵ 'whoever he be that wrote the epistle;' ⁶ 'the apostle Paul, or whatever other person wrote the epistle,' etc.⁷

In alluding to the opinion of the Latin church, he says, that many doubt about Paul's authorship; ⁸ that the Latin custom was not to receive it among the canonical scriptures; ⁹ that all the Greeks admitted it, and some of the Latins; ¹⁰ and that among the Romans even till his time, it was not reckoned Paul's.¹¹ The longest passage which this father has about it is in a letter to Dardanus, where he states that the epistle 'is received as the apostle Paul's, not only by the churches of the East, but on the other hand by all the Greek ecclesiastical writers; though most ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement; and it makes no difference whose it is, since it belongs to an ecclesiastical man, and is read daily in the churches. But if the Latins do not commonly receive it among the canonical scriptures, the Greek churches do the same with the Apocalypse of John. We, however, receive both, not following the usage of the present time, but the authority of ancient

¹ *Ep. 66 ad Pammach. Adv. Jovinian.* lib. i. 5. *Ep. 3, 60 ad Heliodor.* *Comment. in Esaiam*, c. 5, v. 24; c. 7, v. 14. *In Jerem.* c. 22, v. 1-5. *In Zechar.* c. 3, v. 6, 7. *In Matt.* c. 21, v. 39. *In Gal.* c. 4, v. 3.

² *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 5. ³ *Comment. in Titum.*, c. 1, v. 5.

⁴ *Comment. in Titum*, c. 2, v. 2.

⁵ *In Ezech.* c. 28, v. 11, *et seq.*

⁶ *In Amos*, c. 8, v. 7, 8.

⁷ *In Jerem.* c. 31, v. 31.

⁸ *Comment. in Matt.* c. 26, v. 8, 9.

⁹ *In Esaiam*, c. 6, v. 2.

¹⁰ *Ep. 73, ad Evangelum.*

¹¹ *De Script. Eccles.* c. 59.

writers, who for the most part quote both; not as they are wont sometimes to quote apocryphal books as canonical and ecclesiastical.¹ Here there is an ambiguity in the words ‘*most* ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement,’ but the sense seems to be ‘most Greek writers.’ We draw the following conclusions from Jerome’s writings.

First. He believed that Paul did not write the letter, because in speaking of the Greeks he intimates his disagreement with their opinion.

Secondly. Where his language is ambiguous, his caution about orthodoxy was the cause. Careful of his reputation, he hesitated where free speaking might have damaged it.

Thirdly. The great majority of the Latins did not receive the epistle as Paul’s. Only some adopted it.

Fourthly. He fully believed in its canonicity; and probably held it to be Paul’s *indirectly*.²

Fifthly. He alleges that most of the Greek writers who received it as Pauline did not ascribe it to him *immediately* but merely through Barnabas or Clement.

Augustine’s sentiments are scarcely consistent. In his commentary on the epistle to the Romans, he alludes to it as *the apostle’s*. In his treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, he specifies it as one of the fourteen Pauline epistles. He quotes it as *the apostle’s* in his sermons. The decrees of several synods where his influence was

¹ ‘*Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse, cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quodsi eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum Apocalypsin Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt; et tamen nos utraque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent (quippe qui et gentilium litterarum raro utantur exemplis), sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis.*’

² See Wieseler, *Eine Untersuchung*, u.s.w., p. 40, *et seq.*

considerable, have it either after Paul's thirteen letters, but still as his, as in that of Carthage, A.D. 397. In the next council at Carthage (419), it is one of Paul's fourteen letters. In other works of his,¹ it is alluded to as *Scripture*. There are many places in which Augustine avoids giving an opinion about the author, employing indefinite phrases; as, 'the epistle which is written to the Hebrews;' 'which the majority say is Paul's, but some deny;' 'the epistle to the Hebrews;' 'which is inscribed to the Hebrews.' Doubtless he reckoned it a part of the canonical Scriptures, induced to do so, as he affirms, by the authority of the oriental churches; but it is doubtful whether he really believed it to be Paul's. In a passage in his work on 'Christian Doctrine,' where he puts it among the other epistles of Paul, the context makes a distinction among canonical books, assigning greater weight to such as were received by all the catholic churches than to those adopted by fewer and less important churches.² It is not easy to account for the circumlocutory phrases he uses so often, except on the ground of his entertaining doubts about the author. In his later works he avoids quoting the epistle as Paul's. In his work on the 'City of God,' which occupied him fourteen years, he cites it often without naming the writer. And in his unfinished work on Julian, though the latter quotes the epistle as Paul's, Augustine calls it merely 'the epistle to the Hebrews.' 'One would think,' says Lardner, 'that he studiously declines to call it Paul's.' The result of all that Augustine has expressed on the subject is this:—

First. He knew the fact that some Latin churches denied the Pauline origin of the epistle.

Secondly. He himself sometimes quotes it as the apostle's and was inclined at one time to believe it so.

¹ *Enarrat. in Psalm.* 130, § 12; *Contra Maximin. Arian.* lib. ii. c. 25.

² *De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 12.

Thirdly. Oftener, and particularly in his later writings, he scruples to quote it as Paul's, having doubts about its Pauline origin not its canonicity. These doubts were either not strong enough to induce him to speak directly against the Pauline authorship, or he had not courage to contradict the opinion of the majority. He did not take the side of the minority openly, from want of conviction or from fear.

Rufinus (410) naturally followed Jerome; and every writer of note in the West belonging to the fifth century, took the view ostensibly held by Jerome and Augustine; as Chromatius († 410), Innocent of Rome († 416), Paulinus († 431), Cassian († 450), Prosper (434), Eucherius († 450), Salvian († after 490), and Gelasius († 394). Pelagius (425) wrote on Paul's thirteen epistles, not on that to the Hebrews. Yet he speaks of it as a work of the apostle.

From the beginning of the fifth century, the Pauline authorship was generally acknowledged in the Latin church. But even after Jerome and Augustine, several commentators do not quote it, as Leo the Great († 461), and Orosius. About the middle of the sixth century, no Latin commentary on it was known to Cassiodorus (470-564).

At Alexandria the case respecting the epistle was different, but Pantænus's testimony, inserted by Clement in his lost work *Hypotyposes*, has been preserved by Eusebius.¹ It is generally supposed that 'the blessed presbyter,' whom Clement speaks of, is Pantænus, who obviates an objection to the Pauline authorship from the want of the name. Clement himself asserts († 220), that Paul wrote the epistle in Hebrew and that Luke translated it into Greek.

In like manner, Origen († 254) often employs it as a Pauline writing. One passage may suffice: 'And in

¹ *H. E.* vi. 14.

the letter to the Hebrews, the same apostle says,' etc.¹ This distinguished father, knowing that individuals and churches questioned its Pauline composition, expresses his purpose to write a distinct discourse in proof of it, in a letter to Africanus. In other places he alludes to doubts respecting its Pauline authorship, as in his comments on Matt. xxiii. 27.

Eusebius († 340) has preserved an extract from Origen's homilies on the epistle to the Hebrews, which gives a more exact account of the Alexandrian father's opinion respecting the origin of the work. Here we have Origen's mature judgment. The homilies were preached and published in the latter part of his life, when he was upwards of sixty years of age. 'The style of the epistle with the title "to the Hebrews" has not that rudeness of speech which belonged to the apostle who confessed himself rude in speech, that is, in phraseology. But the epistle is purer Greek in the texture of its style, as every one will allow who is able to discern differences of style.' Again he says, 'the ideas of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. Every one will confess the truth of this who reads the apostle's writings attentively.' Afterwards he adds: 'I would say that the sentiments are the apostle's; but the language and composition belong to some one who committed to writing what the apostle said, and reduced into a commentary, as it were, the things spoken by his master. If, then, any church receives this epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended even for this; for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote (was the amanuensis of) the epistle, God alone knows certainly. The account that has come down to us is various; some saying that Clement, who was bishop of Rome, wrote the epistle;

¹ Καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος φησιν.—*In Joann.* tom. ii.

others that it was Luke who wrote the Gospel and the Acts.¹ From this passage we see :—

First. That different opinions about the writer of the letter were entertained in Origen's day; doubts about the authorship being so common that he could allude to them in a popular discourse, without giving offence or raising suspicions against himself. The words, 'if any church receives it as Paul's, it is even to be commended on that account,' imply that some had doubts of its Pauline authorship. The language is hypothetical; and the inference, that only a few churches received the epistle as Paul's or that any church rejected it as his, cannot be rightly drawn from it.

Secondly. Origen's own belief was, that while the sentiments of the epistle proceeded from the apostle, another wrote them down. This explains the apparent inconsistencies observable in his different works. He often cites it as Paul's without scruple or remark; but in his homilies he says, 'God alone knows who wrote it.' The expression 'who wrote the epistle,' can only mean *who put the thoughts into writing, who penned another's ideas.* Such kind of writing some attributed to Clement of Rome, others to Luke; but Origen gives no opinion.²

¹ ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς, οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τουτέστι τῇ φράσει. Ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἂν. Πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσιά ἐστι, καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων. Καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμφήσαι εἶναι ἀληθές πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ. Τοῦτοίς μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἴποιμ' ἂν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐσχολιογραφῆσαντος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. Εἰ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκίμειω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι· τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθές Θεὸς οἶδεν· ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία ὑπὸ τινων μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι Κλημὴς ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. ὑπὸ τινων δὲ ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις.—H. E. vi. 25.

² Unless we make Origen stultify himself in the passage, τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ ἀληθές Θεὸς οἶδεν must mean the scribe, rather than the

Thirdly. It is difficult to understand what he meant by the words, 'ancient men have handed it down to us as Paul's.' He could not mean all the ancients, including Christians in the East and West. Probably he refers to the ancient men of the Alexandrian church, i.e. to Pantænus and Clement, with the generation dependent upon them.

Fourthly. There is little doubt that Origen speaks of current traditions which existed before his time; and that their field was Alexandria.

Origen, as we have just seen, believed that Paul was the author of the epistle, and accounted for the diversity of style between it and other Pauline writings by assuming that some one penned the ideas with the apostle's sanction or by his direction. The power of tradition was so strong that he could not reject Paul's participation in the letter; yet his critical judgment could not reconcile the language with external testimony. Hence he assigned the thoughts to Paul, the diction to another.

Dionysius (247), a disciple of Origen, ascribes the work to the apostle without hesitation, in his epistle addressed to Fabius bishop of Antioch, and preserved by Eusebius.¹ Theognostus of Alexandria (A.D. 282) also assigns the epistle to Paul. So too Peter (300), Alexander (315), Hierax (about 300), Athanasius (†373), Theophilus (†412), Serapion (†358), Didymus (395), and Cyril of Alexandria (†444), employ the epistle, ascribing it to the apostle. The deacon Euthalius (460) again speaks of doubts, which he sets aside. The prevalent opinion of the Alexandrian church was in favour of the Pauline authorship. In accordance with it, the tenth place was usually given to the epistle, i.e. after the second to the Thessalonians. So it is in Athanasius, the council of Laodicea (364), the author of the 'Synopsis of Sacred

proper author, for the preceding context states that this father believed the thoughts to be Paul's, the recording of them another's.

¹ *H. E.* vi. 41.

Scripture,' Euthalius and Cyril. Nor was this position confined to the Alexandrian church; other Greek fathers gave it the same place, as Theodoret and Epiphanius. The oldest Greek MSS., α , A., B., C., H., P., agree.

Out of Egypt, in the Greek church, the current tradition of authorship was the same. The council of Nicæa received the epistle as Paul's, which appears from a reply given by Eusebius in the name of the assembled bishops, where it is quoted as his.¹

Justin Martyr († 166) has several passages which show an acquaintance with the epistle. He writes, for example, 'This is he who, after the order of Melchizedek, is King of Salem, and everlasting priest of the Most High.'² Elsewhere, 'about to be both everlasting priest of God, and King, and Christ.'³ In another work he writes that Christ is called both Angel and *Apostle*.⁴ All that can be inferred from such statements is, that the epistle was current in the Christian circle to which Justin belonged. References to the epistle have been found in Polycarp, and the longer recension of Ignatius, but they are indistinct.⁵

Eusebius of Cæsarea quotes the letter very frequently, especially in his commentary on the Psalms, and attributes it to the apostle, putting it among the fourteen and the *Homologoumena*. In the third book of his 'Ecclesiastical History' he says expressly, 'Of Paul there are fourteen epistles, manifest and well known;' subjoining, 'yet there are some who reject that to the

¹ καθὼς φησι καὶ ὁ Παῦλος τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς 'Εβραίοις γράφων, κ.τ.λ. See *Harduin. Acta Concilior.* vol. i. p. 402.

² οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ βασιτεὺς Σαλήμ, καὶ αἰώνιος ἱερεὺς Ὑψίστου ὑπάρχων. (Hebr. v. 9, 10; vi. 20; vii. 12.)—*Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 379, ed. Thirlby.

³ καὶ αἰώνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερέα, καὶ βασιλεία, καὶ Χριστὸν μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι.—*Ibid.* p. 347.

⁴ καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος.—*Apol.* i. c. 63, p. 172. Otto, ed. 3.

⁵ See Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 238.

Hebrews, urging in favour of their opinion, that the church of the Romans denies it to be Paul's.¹

In other places the historian speaks differently. Thus he writes : ' For Paul having addressed the Hebrews in their own tongue, some think the evangelist Luke—others, Clement, translated the epistle, which last appears more probable, since there is a great resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement and the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as between their sentiments.'² This passage implies that the writer had an opinion like Origen's, viz. that Paul wrote in Hebrew, Clement translating into Greek. But a statement in his commentary on the second Psalm is different, indicating that Paul wrote the epistle in Greek. Elsewhere, he alludes to it as a work belonging to the *Antilegomena* or disputed Scriptures in the time of Clemens Alexandrinus, because he says, that the latter, in his 'Stromateis,' uses testimonies from the 'Antilegomena,' the book called the 'Wisdom of Solomon,' that of Jesus son of Sirach, the epistle to the Hebrews, Barnabas, Clement, and Jude.

The general conclusion we draw from Eusebius's writings is, that he accepted the epistle as Paul's and used it as such. 'Nevertheless,' says Lardner, 'perhaps it may be questioned whether he was fully persuaded of it.'

The Pauline authorship was commonly held in the Greek church after Eusebius. Cyril of Jerusalem († 389), Gregory of Nazianzus († 390), Basil the Great († 379), Gregory Nyssene († after 394), Titus of Bostra († 371), Epiphanius († 402), Chrysostom

¹ τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες. Ὅτι γε μὴν τινες ἡθετήκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν.—*H. E.* iii. 8.

² Ἑβραίοις γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὠμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Δουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα . . . ἐρμηνεύσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφὴν ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη ἀληθὲς τῷ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τὴν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀποσώζειν, καὶ τῷ μὴ πῶρρόν τὰ ἐν ἑκατέροις τοῖς συγγράμμασι νοήματα καθεστάναι.—*H. E.* iii. 38.

(† 407), Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429), received it. And if the Iambic poem addressed to Seleucus be rightly assigned to Amphilochius of Iconium († 394), he may be also quoted for the Pauline authorship. Gregory Thaumaturgus († about 270) ascribes it to Paul, quoting or referring to various passages, such as ii. 3, 4; iii. 15–18.

As to the Syrian church, the epistle is in the Peshito, but at the end of the Pauline epistles before the general ones. Delitzsch argues that it was put there because anonymous, not because it was thought to proceed from another than Paul.¹ But in that case it would rather have stood among the Pauline ones, between those to the Corinthians and Galatians, or after the Thessalonian ones, certainly before the pastoral epistles. The Peshito has it merely with the title, ‘Epistle to the Hebrews.’ The later Syriac, which was dependent on the Greek, gave it the title, ‘Epistle of Paul.’ After this, the Syrian church generally believed in the Pauline authorship. About the middle of the third century, the synod of Antioch ascribes it to the apostle. Jacob of Nisibis (325), and Ephrem († 378), so quote it, as does Severian bishop of Gabala (401). Isaac bishop of Nineveh († 550), and Ebed-Jesu († 1318), reckon it the fourteenth of Paul’s epistles.

This brief summary of the patristic evidence need not be followed further. Those who wish to see it drawn out at length, are referred to Bleek,² from whom many succeeding critics have taken their lists of passages.

The following is the result of external evidence on the subject.

In the Western or Latin church, the epistle was

¹ *Ueber Verfasser und Leser des Hebräerbriefs*, in Rudelbach und Guericke’s *Zeitschrift*, 1849, p. 510.

² *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, erste Abtheilung, viertes Kapitel, p. 81, et seq.

not considered apostolic till the fourth century, when it first obtained a canonical position and was assigned to Paul. The causes which contributed to this change cannot be traced. Perhaps the ecclesiastical intercourse between the East and West, which began at the time, brought the sentiments of the former into the latter. Above all, the weight of two names, Jerome and Augustine, greatly influenced the formation of such an opinion. It has been conjectured that the Arian controversy, in which the epistle was useful to the orthodox cause, helped to establish its apostolicity. It may be also, that the study of Origen's writings had its influence. We know that Hilary and Ambrose in particular were familiar with them.

In the Eastern or Greek church, tradition was early and uniformly in favour of the Pauline authorship. Eusebius found it already established. The Greek fathers, with few exceptions, believed that it proceeded from the apostle of the Gentiles.

The early Syrians did not hold the Pauline authorship; but the fathers of that church began to do so in the third century.

Thus patristic evidence is divided and the testimonies conflicting. Taken in the mass, it favours the Pauline origin of the letter. Judged separately, especially in its earliest state, its voice is contrary. If the letter were written in Italy, the Italians must have known whether Paul wrote it or not; and their opinion is, consequently, a strong argument against its apostolic authorship. We rely more on the earliest testimony, which is against Paul's authorship, than on the later; and believe that the rejection of that authorship by the Latin church outweighs the opposite evidence. The letter was written either in Italy or at Alexandria; so that the Westerns knew better who wrote it than the Asiatics. It tells against the Pauline origin that Pantænus was the *first* who held that opinion at Alexandria.

II. Having considered the external evidence bearing on Paul's authorship, we proceed to the internal. Here there is much to discountenance the idea that the apostle wrote the epistle.

(a) The want of a title or inscription strikes the reader. The name of the writer does not appear, contrary to Paul's method. As the Jewish Christians were prejudiced against him, he must have appealed, if not to his apostleship, at least to the revelations he had received, the purity of his motives, and his ardent love to his countrymen. Such things would have been most suitable had Paul wished to get a favourable hearing.

At an early period, those who assumed the Pauline authorship endeavoured to account for the absence of the apostle's name by supposing, with Pantænus, that the writer, conscious of his mission to the Gentiles not the Jews, omitted his name through modesty; or with Clemens Alexandrinus, that Paul avoided an inscription lest he should offend the Hebrews who had prejudices against him. Jerome gives the same explanation as Clement's; and it is repeated till the present day. Hug adds another, viz. that the epistle is a discourse as far as the doxology in xiii. 20, rather than a letter; and therefore a salutation with the apostle's name would have been unsuitable. None of these hypotheses is probable; and the omission of the name at the commencement of the letter remains a strong presumption against the Pauline authorship, especially when it is remembered that Paul did not intrude into the sphere of activity occupied by others (2 Cor. x. 13). He was the apostle of the Gentiles not of the Jews.

(b) The manner in which the Old Testament is quoted differs from the Pauline. The writer knows the Jewish Scriptures only in the Septuagint version, which is cited even where it has words added to the Hebrew text, as in i. 6 from Deuteronomy xxxii. 43; and also where the original is deserted, as in x. 5-7. The

author has a few trifling deviations from the Septuagint; but neither in them nor in any other case, not even in x. 30, did he consult the Hebrew. On the other hand, where the Greek version departs *materially* from the Hebrew text, Paul seldom follows it. Again, when the apostle quotes the LXX., his citations commonly agree with the Vatican text; whereas the epistle to the Hebrews uniformly follows the Alexandrian one.¹

A separate examination of the citations justifies these remarks. Thus i. 7 is from the Septuagint according to the Alexandrian copy, the original Hebrew meaning that God makes the winds his messengers and the lightnings his servants. But in the Greek rendering which our author follows, the sense becomes, 'He makes his angels winds and his servants a flame of fire,' implying that angels are changed into those elements by God to do his pleasure.

The citation in i. 8, 9, from Psalm xlv. 6, 7, is also different in sense from the original, which is, 'thy God's (or divine) throne is for ever and ever,' referring to a Hebrew king on the occasion of his marriage; whereas the author of the epistle takes the nominative (God) as a vocative and considers it an address to the Messiah.

The quotation in i. 10-12, from Psalm cii. 25-27, also gives a different meaning from that of the original. The Hebrew words contain an address to Jehovah; the writer of our epistle applies them directly to Christ, misled in all probability by the term *κύριε* in the LXX., which was commonly applied to Christ in the time of the apostles. Paul would not have made the quotation as it is, applying the words directly to Christ, for the psalm is not Messianic. Jehovah is addressed in it; and no Jew would have used it of the Messiah or of any except the supreme Being. The apostle Paul, educated under Gamaliel, could not have applied the psalm

¹ Bleek, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, erste Abtheilung, sections 79-83, pp. 338, 381.

in such a way. It is vain to deny, as Ebrard does, that the author of the epistle applies the title Jehovah or its Greek equivalent to Christ. Both Calvin and Socinus believe that he does so.

The citation in ii. 6-8 from Psalm viii. 4, etc., turns aside from the meaning of the original, showing vagueness of apprehension as well as incorrectness unlike Paul's manner. Instead of saying that man was made a little lower in rank than the angels, as the Septuagint affirms, the writer converts rank into time, man into the Messiah; 'for a little time lower than the angels.' In i. 5, v. 5, words quoted from the second psalm are looked upon as an address of God to the Son in his pre-existent state; whereas Paul considers them as a formula conferring Messianic dignity on Christ at his resurrection (Acts xiii. 33). The former is farther from the Psalmist's meaning, which refers to a statute of Jehovah declared at the inauguration of a theocratic king.

While these and other citations show how dependent the author was upon the Greek translation even where it misinterprets the original, they prove that Paul was not the writer.

In alluding to the author's exegesis connected with Old Testament quotations, we do not forget that the writings of Paul present some examples not wholly dissimilar; but the epistle before us has stranger and more numerous specimens, several of which could scarcely have proceeded from the apostle. Though the latter sometimes spiritualises the Old Testament, allegorises historical accounts, modifies the original sense, and tries to make it prove what it cannot; yet with all his deviations from historico-grammatical interpretation, he does not present the peculiar instances of departure found in ch. i. 5, 7-12.¹

Still further, none of the introductory formulas of

¹ See Rom. iv. 3, etc.; x. 6-8; xiv. 10-12; 1 Cor. xiv. 20, 21, etc.; Galat. iii. 16, with De Wette's comments.

quotations so common with Paul, such as, *as it is written*, *for it is written*, *the Scripture saith*, etc. etc., appears in our epistle. Neither are his rarer formulas used, *David says*, *Moses says*, *Isaiah says*. The epistle to the Hebrews refers its citations neither to *Scripture* nor to *persons* or *authors*, but to God or the Holy Spirit, with one exception (ii. 6). This is done even where the words in the original are spoken of God in the third person (Hebrews i. 6, 7, 8, etc.). In cases where the verb *says* has no nominative, *God* should be supplied, not *Scripture*. Only two exceptions occur, viz. ii. 6 and xii. 21, where the indefinite *one* and *Moses said* occur. The former is without example elsewhere. To cite a well-known book like the Psalms with, *some one in a certain place*, is remarkable. The latter is inexact, because the words of Moses in Deut. ix. 19 are transferred to the time when the law was promulgated.

(c) We agree with Tholuck, Von Soden, and others in thinking that some passages in the epistle contain reminiscences of Paul's writings, as x. 30, compared with Rom. xii. 19; and xii. 14, compared with Rom. xii. 18.¹ Other points of contact with the Roman letter appear in x. 38; compare Rom. i. 17. Reminiscences of the first epistle to the Corinthians are still more numerous: ii. 4, compare 1 Cor. xii. 4, 7-11, ii. 8, 1 Cor. xv. 27; ii. 14, 1 Cor. xv. 26; iii. 7-19, xii. 18-25, compare 1 Cor. x. 1-11; v. 2, 1 Cor. iii. 2; ix. 26, 1 Cor. x. 11; x. 33, 1 Cor. iv. 9.

(d) The writer betrays an imperfect knowledge of the tabernacle. He is even mistaken in some particulars; a thing that could not be asserted of Paul who lived in Jerusalem for a considerable time. In the 9th chapter, the Jewish tabernacle is divided into its two principal parts; the first apartment and the holy of holies. In specifying their furniture the author mentions, in the

¹ Tholuck's *Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer*, Einleitung, p. 46, 2nd ed.

first, the candlestick, the table, and the shew-bread ; in the second, the golden altar of incense, with the ark of the covenant containing the pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and the tables of stone.

The pot of manna and Aaron's rod are put in the ark of the covenant, which is opposed to 1 Kings viii. 9 ; 2 Chron. v. 10, where it is expressly declared that the ark had nothing in it but two tables of stone. And the golden altar of incense is placed in the holy of holies ; whereas it was in the first apartment, towards the vail that separated the one from the other.

In the tabernacle, Aaron's rod and the pot of manna were *before* not *in* the ark (Exod. xvi. 33 ; Numb. xvii. 10) ; with which both Josephus and Philo agree when they relate that the ark contained nothing but the tables of stone. But the later Rabbins, Levi ben Gerson and Abarbanel, have the same view as that in the epistle, so that the author may have followed a tradition different from the Scriptural one. The word translated *altar of incense* is ambiguous, and may mean *censer*. We prefer the former meaning, because it has the authority of Josephus and Philo. In either case, there is an error, since the censer was *taken into* the holy of holies by the high priest, not *kept* there. The whole passage shows, that though the writer had respect to the tabernacle, he transferred both divisions of it, with all the furniture, to the temple, which he believed to possess the ark, the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod. What belonged to the original tabernacle he supposed to have equally belonged to the temple of his time. The present tense used in the sixth verse (the priests *enter in*), and in the seventh (*offers*), along with the present perfect (these things *having been* thus *ordained*, ix. 6), reads as if the original arrangements existed. Similarly, ignorance on the part of the writer appears in ix. 19, where it is a mistake to say that the blood of the sacrifices was mixed with water. The

blood would have been vitiated by the addition of water, except in accidental cases. So also the statement that the tabernacle was sprinkled with blood (ix. 21) is incorrect. It was sprinkled with oil, as we learn from the Old Testament.

Though it cannot be said that the writer has made a mistake about the high priest offering *daily* sacrifice, for vii. 27 scarcely sustains that position; yet the adverbial *daily* is so vague, that the statement cannot be entirely justified by the references to Josephus, the Talmud, and Philo which Bleek advances. The author, thinking of the daily offerings of the priests, as well as the yearly sacrifice of atonement, uses language involving their amalgamation. To account for or excuse the defective knowledge of the tabernacle and temple shown by the writer, it is not sufficient to say with Weiss that he *idealises*; since idealising should start from a correct point and assume traits of verisimilitude, rather than set forth a view in some respects erroneous. An idealising process need not create wrong details.

(e) According to ii. 3, the writer was not an apostle, but had received the gospel from ear-witnesses. ‘How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and *was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?*’ Here the readers are represented as belonging to the second Christian generation, because they had received the gospel from ear-witnesses and the first preachers; and the author classes himself with the readers—‘was confirmed unto *us* by them that heard him.’

The only way of escaping the force of this argument is to call in the aid of a rhetorical figure,¹ by which the writer includes himself among those he addresses. Such a mode of speaking does occur in the epistle itself, as also in the Pauline ones. But Bleek rightly limits it to

¹ ἀνακοίνωσις.

hortatory addresses, where an author may include himself with propriety among his readers, because the consciousness of moral infirmity is an attribute of universal humanity. Although therefore the context has, '*we* ought to give heed,' '*how shall we* escape?' the figure is dropped when a historical fact is expressed. It is difficult to see how Paul could forbear in that passage to remind the Jewish Christians that the Lord himself had worked and taught in their midst, had suffered before their eyes, and found the first witnesses of his resurrection and ascension among them.

(*f*) The hermeneutical principles of the epistle differ from Paul's. In allegorising the Old Testament, the author goes much further than the apostle, who treats single passages in that way as in Galat. iii. 16 and iv. 22, etc.; the latter being the most conspicuous instance in his writings. The entire Jewish dispensation is treated typically, a shadow of the future substance, an antepast of good things to come. Hence our author spiritualises the person of Melchizedek, whom he considers a type of the Son of God. The history of this priest in Genesis is viewed typically; all that is said of him, down to the very name, and all that is not said of him, being significant. Such interpretation reminds us of Philo and the Rabbins.

Akin to allegorising is the play upon words, of which there is a notable example in the use of the Greek term translated *covenant* (ix. 15-18), which has also the meaning of *testament*, and is used as the basis of an argument for the sacrificial death of Christ.

(*g*) The doctrinal system of the epistle to the Hebrews, though based upon Paulinism, is worked out in a different way and assumes another form. The Alexandrian education of the writer shaped and modified the Pauline teaching which was the point of his departure. Though he has advanced in some respects beyond Paul, with independence and originality; yet

his conclusions are substantially the same. It was not his object to diverge from the Pauline doctrine but to establish it, which he does in his own method. The view of Christianity and Judaism is determined by the Alexandrian conception of the supersensuous world which is prominent in Philo. When Christianity is identified with that abstract world of thought it receives a new form, and its blessings assume a peculiar aspect. The idea of transcendence enters into them. Christianity is a transcendent reality, being the archetypal world, the heavenly Jerusalem, of which believers are the citizens. Raised far above the earthly and temporal, it is the heavenly and perfect world. But the perfect is something future, a thing that cannot now be actually possessed. Hence Christianity is identical with the future world. It is *the world to come* in point of time, as it is *the heavenly world* in respect to place, transcendent therefore both in place and time. The present world or æon was that which preceded Christianity; the future world or æon is that of Christianity itself, which Christ came to inaugurate and open up. The two are metaphysically opposed to one another; and as Christianity is absolutely different from the earthly world, its blessings are the object of hope rather than a present possession. The Christian can only *taste of its powers* on earth.

Judaism is a Levitical cult; and both its temporary and perpetual character—its transience and unchangeableness—lie in that fact. When it is changed, the law is changed with it. Priesthood is the primary, law the secondary thing; the former determining the latter. Because priesthood is changed, the law must be changed, the one being subordinate to the other. When the priesthood is fulfilled, the law cannot continue, as it was a weak and profitless thing. The view taken by Paul is different. He considers Judaism as a law not as a priesthood; a law which has to be fulfilled. The

Pauline view of Judaism is subjective; that of our epistle, objective. Paul shows that the law cannot bring man into a right relation to God because he is unable to fulfil it; the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, that the priestly arrangements in the Old Testament cannot effect reconciliation to God because of their defective character. According to Paul, the ground of Judaism being unsatisfactory does not lie in the law but in man's relation to it; according to our author, the ground is in the constitution of Judaism itself. As Paul apprehended Judaism from the standpoint of the law, and the author of our epistle from that of its ritual, they arrive at its abolition in different methods. Judaism was a shadow of which Christianity is the substance. As it was a copy of the heavenly sanctuary or Christianity, the latter being eternal really preceded it. The essence was anticipated in the shadow. Hence its temporary validity. Belonging to the earthly and perishing world, to the *αἰὼν οὗτος*, it was only a preparation for the perfect thing to come. Such is the view of our epistle. Paul looks upon Judaism as having been abolished by the death of Christ, who fulfilled the law and bore its curse on the cross. With him Judaism was not a copy of Christianity but a legal institution opposed to it.

The epistle announces, for the first time, the priesthood of Christ as typified by the high priesthood of the old covenant. The sacrifice he offers for sin is himself, so that he is both priest and victim. This is not Pauline; nor does it agree with the Old Testament idea of the Messiah, who is not a priest but a king. It is such characteristic presentation of Jesus as a high priest which pervades the epistle; his priestly activity in heaven, and his continued intercession with the Father for the believing church; throwing the earthly agency which Paul emphasises entirely into the shade.

The relation between Jewish and Gentile Christians

under the New Testament is also looked at differently by Paul and the writer of this epistle. The former does not make Jewish Christians the proper nucleus and body of the Church, but Gentile ones; the latter, who never mentions Gentile Christians, must have considered Jewish believers the essence of the Church.¹

The christology of our epistle, though similar, advances beyond the Pauline, occupying an intermediate position between the Pauline and Johannine. Paul and our author represent Christ as pre-existent and super-human; but the latter gives him a higher rank in that he is an effulgence of the divine glory and an express image of the divine substance. His nature is the same as God's, metaphysically connected with it. Omnipotence itself is ascribed to him when it is said that he upholds all things by the word of his power; and the language descriptive of Jehovah (in Psalm cii.) is directly applied to him as though he were the creator of the universe. Thus Christ's person is elevated into a cosmical principle, as in the epistle to the Colossians. He is not yet, however, John's Logos, but is liker Philo's. His identification with Jehovah in name has no parallel in Paul's writings. And yet the humanity appears in other parts of the epistle, in a Pauline way (i. 2, 13; ii. 7, 8; iii. 2; v. 5). The two aspects of his person, the metaphysical and the historical, cannot be reconciled. In chap. x. 37 his speedy return is noticed, but not to judge: that is the act of God Himself. As he is not the incarnate Logos of the fourth gospel, and the epistle preceded the gospel, the work cannot be called a complement to that of John. The reverse would be nearer the truth. According to Paul, he ultimately delivers up the dominion to the Father; in the epistle to the Hebrews his dominion is everlasting. The view of Pfeiderer is highly probable, that the christological passage in i. 3 rests upon the description

¹ See Riehm's *Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs*, p. 232, *et seq.*

of *sophia* or *wisdom* in the Alexandrian book of Wisdom (vii. 25-27); which describes it as the personified power of the Almighty.¹

Reconciliation to God by the death of Christ is differently set forth. The apostle looks upon the Son as passive rather than active; his sacrifice as a vicarious one, satisfying the justice of God and taking away the guilt of sin. In the epistle, Christ is an active high priest offering up himself. The death of the victim in the one case is connected with the removal of divine wrath; in the other, with the removal of the consciousness of guilt; for by the offering up of Christ once for all the conscience is *purified*, disquieting fears cease, and the Christian enters into communion with God. The Pauline idea of the death is an expiatory sacrifice offered to the justice of God manifested in the law; that of the epistle is a sacrifice of *purification*. In the former, the immediate effect is deliverance from deserved punishment and acceptance as righteous because of imputed righteousness; in the latter, it is deliverance from a guilty conscience. Thus reconciliation to God is differently apprehended by the writers.

The epistle does not connect the work of Christ with his sacrifice on the cross, but with his appearance in the heavenly sanctuary, where he discharges his priestly duties, interceding with the Father for his people. The proper efficacy of his priesthood does not begin till he is *perfected*.

The Pauline contrast of *faith* and *the law* or *the works of the law* is foreign to our epistle. According to the apostle, faith is the inward appropriation of Christ's righteousness, a righteousness imputed to the believer. It rests on Christ as its object, especially on his death and resurrection. According to the epistle, faith is a state of mind directed to the invisible world viewed both as a reality and a future possession, and

¹ See Pfeiderer's *Paulinismus*, vol. ii. p. 61, English translation.

hope is its chief element, not its consequence, as with Paul. Christ, instead of being the object of faith, perfected it, brought it into full manifestation so as to be the guide of all who follow his steps. He is the illustration of all that it is and expresses; the great forerunner in the road of faith. The Pauline view is that faith puts the Christian into mystical union with Christ. Believers live, die, rise with him. Christ is *in* them and they *in* Christ. The epistle sets forth Christ *for* us not *in* us; Christ as our great example, the mediator of a new covenant, who having passed through sufferings and death into the heavenly sanctuary opened up full communion with God. He is the great high priest who is able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God by him.

The righteousness *according to faith* (xi. 7) is also different from the Pauline *righteousness of faith* (ep. to Romans ix. 30). The former is the state of mind which faith produces, that is righteousness of character, the consequence of faith. The latter is a thing imputed by God to the sinner and received by faith, in other words a divine gift. The one represents righteousness as a property inherent in the believer, manifested in his actions and sufferings, acknowledged by God; the other looks upon it as a thing which God bestows. The epistle ignores the legal way in which Paul sets forth justification. Ideas and forms of expression resulting from the judicial standpoint of the apostle are dropped; and thoughts according with an Alexandrian standpoint are attached to his language.

The Pauline idea that Christ is the first member of renewed humanity; the second Adam, is not in our epistle. On the other hand, he is called by the writer 'the apostle and high priest of our profession,' epithets unknown to Paul.

The author is silent as to the power which, according to Paul, sin has over men, making it impossible for

them to fulfil the law ; with the misery and condemnation in which mankind are involved on that account. He never speaks of the power of the flesh over the spirit, or of the impossibility of performing works that justify ; but proceeds on the principle of the freedom of the human will and the divine reward of good conduct (xiii. 16 ; vi. 10).

The relation of the work of redemption to the devil is absent in Paul's teaching. In our epistle, Christ is said to have overcome him that had the power of death ; in other words, his redeeming efficacy freed men from one that wielded the power of bodily death. Death is the punishment of sin ; and man is continually subject to the fear of it. It is Satan who has the power of carrying out the penalty ; and Christ in overcoming him freed man from the fear of death, or rather from the fear of the judgment that follows it. Paul views the death of Christ in its relation to the punitive justice of God ; the writer of the epistle, in relation to the devil who executes it. Christ and the devil are two opposing powers. When the latter is vanquished by the death of the former, man is liberated from the bondage of terror, his guilty conscience is purified ; in a word, he is redeemed.¹

Paul does not represent Christ as the prince of death but the god of this world. *Sammael* had similar power over death, according to the later Jews.²

The passage v. 7-9 is wholly unlike Paul's teaching. When and where were these prayers uttered ? They cannot be explained by the exclamation on the cross, ' My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? ' Nor are the utterances in the garden of Gethsemane exactly suitable, because ' the strong crying and tears ' are absent from the gospel record. Were the prayers in question answered ? If they were, as the passage

¹ See Pfeleiderer's *Paulinismus*, vol. ii. p. 78, English translation.

² See Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chald. Talm. Rabbin.* p. 1495.

implies, his death is contrary to that. The answer, however, may have been in his being strengthened for the endurance of suffering. The passage is un-Pauline throughout, especially the statement that though he was a son he learned obedience by the things he suffered and so was perfected.

In vi. 2, the resurrection is put among the elementary principles of the gospel. This is opposed to Paul's teaching in the first epistle to the Corinthians, where great importance is attached to it. In vi. 4-6, the impossibility of restoring such as lapsed after they had been baptized is a Novatian tenet out of harmony with Paul's general belief.

Notwithstanding the diversities between the characteristic doctrines of Paul and the writer of our epistle, the latter was a Pauline Christian acquainted with his letters; for he has plain reminiscences of them. We have seen that passages corresponding to others in the epistles to the Romans and Corinthians present themselves to the eye of the reader. Deuteronomy xxxii. 35 is quoted in the form which it has in the epistle to the Romans, not as in the Septuagint. Yet Paul and our author do not move within the same circle of ideas. The latter develops those of the former from another point of view, and proceeds in an independent direction. He represents Alexandrian Paulinism, and exhibits originality. His treatise, pervaded by the Philonian dualism of the supersensuous and sensuous worlds, presents the idea of *transcendence* not *immanence*. The old and new covenants are contrasted as archetype and type, shadow and substance, the present world and the future, the earthly and the heavenly, the transient and the permanent, the unreal and the real.

In Paulinism the two institutions are related as law and gospel, letter and spirit, bondage and sonship. According to the epistle, Christianity is the consummation of Judaism; according to Paul its abrogation

According to the epistle, Christianity contains nothing absolutely new, nothing that did not exist already in Judaism. The union of Christianity and Judaism lies in the priestly element, by virtue of which they cannot pass away. The author's doctrinal standpoint is Paulinism modified by Alexandrianism. But he goes beyond the apostle Paul, and takes another view of the Old Testament, an essentially Philonian one, discovering a spiritual sense in the history, hidden under the letter, attention being chiefly directed to the priestly element. In consequence of his Alexandrianism, some contrasts to Paulinism are presented; the abrogation of ancient institutions being portrayed in a more artificial way than Paul's; in the fanciful region of forecasts and shadows.

It is instructive to compare the epistle not only with Paul's writings but with the fourth gospel. Though it forms an intermediate link, its Alexandrian mould brings it nearer the latter.

It was early felt that the phraseology and style of the epistle are different from Paul's. Hence Clement thought that the work was translated. For the same reason Origen attributes the thoughts to Paul; the dress they are clothed in, to another. This distinguished father, who was no mean judge of Greek, believed that the Greek of the epistle is better than Paul's, and his opinion has been ratified by the most eminent scholars.

Moses Stuart collected a catalogue of Hebraisms to show what none disputes, that the language of the epistle is far from being classical. It is beside the mark to quote religious terms which have been transferred from the Old Testament into the theological language of every nation as well as into the Greek tongue. The dissentients from Origen's opinion should prove that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews has employed Hebraistic expressions as symbols of ideas for which the Greek language has more appropriate words of its

own. When this shall have been done from a lexical point of view, something effective will be accomplished ; till then, an industrious array of Hebraisms is useless. We do not say that the language of the epistle is free from Hebraisms, but that the diction is purer than Paul's. In respect to purity, it stands on a level with the latter half of the Acts, where many of the expressions quoted by Stuart from the epistle to the Hebrews as Hebraisms are also found. Tried by his mode of procedure, any of Paul's epistles not only presents as many Hebraisms as that addressed to the Hebrews, but would exhibit far more if a parallel could be found among them, viz. a letter addressed solely to Jewish Christians and occupied with a description of the Jewish economy in relation to the Christian system. The subject itself might induce more Hebraisms than any treated by Paul ; yet the epistle has really fewer.

All the *grammatical* Hebraisms occurring in the epistle are these : the genitive of a substantive along with another substantive, in place of an adjective, as in i. 3 ; iv. 2 ; v. 13 ; vi. 1 ; and the undeclining of foreign names, as Aaron, vii. 11 ; ix. 4 ; Cherubim, ix. 5 ; Jericho, xi. 30 ; Jerusalem, xii. 22.

The following are all the examples of a *lexical* kind which occur : λαλέω applied to divine disclosures, i. 1 ; ii. 2 ; ix. 19—γεύομαι θανάτου, ii. 9—σπέρμα for *posterity*, ii. 16 ; xi. 18—σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα for *corporeity*, ii. 14—παρρησία, *confidence*, iii. 6 ; iv. 16 ; x. 19, 35—χάριν εὐρίσκειν, iv. 16—ὁμολογία, *faith professed*, iii. 1—εὐλογία, *blessing*, vi. 7 ; xii. 17—τὸ ὄνομα Θεοῦ, a periphrasis for God himself—οἰκτιρμοί, x. 28—ἐγκαινίζειν, ix. 18 ; x. 20—ἐργάζεσθαι δικαιοσύνην, xi. 33—ὀλοθρεῖν, xi. 28—ὁμολογεῖν τι, xiii. 15—ῥῆμα, *promise*, vi. 5—ἐξέρχομαι ἐκ τῆς ὁσφύος, vii. 5—ιδεῖν θάνατον, xi. 5—οὐχ ἠύρισκετο, xi. 5—μὴ προστεθῆναι αὐτοῖς λόγον, xii. 19—περιπατέω ἐν, xiii. 9—καρπὸς χειλέων, xiii. 15—

ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ, xiii. 21—κοπή, *overthrow*, vii. 1—καρπὸς εἰρηνικός, xii. 11.

In a *syntactical* respect, we have the Hebraising constructions ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ instead of the genitive, iii. 12—λαλεῖν ἐν for διὰ, i. 1—ὁμνυμι κατὰ τινος, vi. 13—καταπαύειν intrans. with ἀπό, iv. 10; εἶναι ἐς τι, viii. 10—ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας instead of τὸν Θεόν, ii. 17.

The following list of peculiarities is De Wette's, revised and sifted.

Different formulas introductory to quotations: λέγει, μαρτυρεῖ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον or Θεός; or merely λέγει, εἶρηκε μαρτυρεῖ, φησί, i. 5, 6, etc., 13; iii. 7, 15; iv. 3, 4, etc., 7; v. 5, etc.; vi. 14; vii. 14, 17, 21; viii. 5, 8, 13; x. 5, 8, 9, 15, etc., 30; xi. 18; xii. 5, 20, 26. Paul has γέγραπται καθὼς γέγραπται, ἡ γραφή λέγει, ἐγράφη, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος; or Μωϋσῆς γράφει, Δαβὶδ λέγει, ὁ νόμος λέγει and such like. Only Ephes. iv. 8, and v. 14, are like the epistle to the Hebrews. Rom. xv. 10; 2 Cor. vi. 2; Gal. iii. 16, are somewhat similar.

The characteristic expression applied to Christ by Paul is ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Χριστός Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν: but the epistle to the Hebrews has only the single appellations ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ κύριος, Χριστός—Ἰησοῦς Χριστός three times, and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς once. The compound appellations are characteristic of Paul; the single ones of the epistle to the Hebrews. It may be correct, as Stuart asserts, that those compound formulas occur but sixty-eight times in all the Pauline letters; but even so, we naturally expect appellations compounded with κύριος oftener than they appear in our epistle. It has only one such, while there are seventeen, at least, in the epistle to the Romans. Again, *Jesus* occurs seven times in our epistle; whereas in that to the Romans, which is longer, it is found but twice; and in the first epistle to the Corinthians once. These facts tell against the Pauline

authorship. *Apostle* is applied to Christ, iii. 1—μισθαποδοσία, ii. 2 ; x. 35 ; xi. 26—μισθός in Paul—ὀρκωμοσία, vii. 20, 21—αἱματεκχυσία, ix. 22—οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα, ii. 5—τὰ μέλλοντα ἀγαθά, ix. 11 ; x. 1—μέτοχον εἶναι, γίνεσθαι, iii. 1, 14 ; vi. 4 ; xii. 8 ; but Paul has κοινωνόν, συγκοινωνόν εἶναι, κοινωνεῖν, συγκοινωνεῖν—ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιά τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, i. 3—ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιά τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, viii. 1—ἐν δεξιά τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ, xii. 2 ; ἐν δεξιά τοῦ Θεοῦ, x. 12 ; in Coloss. ἐν δεξιά τοῦ Θεοῦ καθήμενος. The writer of our epistle uses the verb καθίζω intransitively ; whereas, with a similar context, Paul uses it transitively. The former says, Christ sat down on the right hand of the throne of the majesty, etc. etc. ; whereas the apostle of the Gentiles says, ‘God the Father seated him at his own right hand,’ etc. ἡγούμενοι, xiii. 7, 17, 24—κακουχεῖσθαι, xi. 37 ; xiii. 3—συνκακουχεῖσθαι, xi. 25—θρόνος τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, viii. 1—θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, iv. 16—τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίζειν, x. 29—τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπατεῖν, x. 29. Nouns feminine in *is* are numerous, as ἀθέτησις, vii. 18 ; ix. 26—μετάθεσις, vii. 12 ; xi. 5 ; xii. 27—κατάπανσις, iii. 11, 18 ; iv. 1, 3, 5, 10, 11, etc. etc.—τελειοῦν, ii. 10 ; v. 9 ; vii. 19, 28 ; ix. 9 ; x. 1, 14 ; xi. 40 ; xii. 23—τελείωσις, vii. 11—λαμβάνειν used in a peculiar way with the accusative, as πείραν, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν, xi. 29, 36 ; ii. 3. It is irrelevant to heap together a number of accusatives with the same verb, in Paul’s writings, as Stuart has done ; because in such instances the verb is not employed in the same manner. προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, iv. 16 ; vii. 25 ; x. 1, 22 ; xi. 6. κρείττων in a peculiar sense, *more excellent*, i. 4 ; vi. 9 ; vii. 7, 19, 22 ; viii. 6 ; ix. 23 ; x. 34 ; xi. 16, 35, 40. One doubtful example of the adjective with the same meaning in Paul’s thirteen epistles (1 Cor. xii. 31) leaves the frequency of its peculiar usage in the epistle to the Hebrews untouched. εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, vii. 3 ; x. 1, 12, 14—εἰς τὸ

παντελής, vii. 25—διαπαντός, ix. 6; xiii. 15; *living God, living word, living way*, iii. 12; ix. 14; x. 31; xii. 22; iv. 12; x. 20—ἐάνπερ, iii. 6, 14; vi. 3—the frequently occurring ὅθεν, ὅσον, τοσοῦτο, ἀδύνατον—παρὰ after the comparative, i. 4; ix. 23; xi. 4; xii. 24; the frequent use of πᾶς in the singular.

Of peculiar words and phrases we notice but two, τελειοῦν and ἐγγίζειν τῷ Θεῷ. The former is applied both to Christ and to the Christian, meaning the perfect and final condition of the future life, the complete heavenly state. Used of men in the present life, it denotes the complete satisfaction arising out of a purified conscience, the satisfaction of the inner man. It is singular that Paul never has the word; though it includes the ideas expressed in his favourite verbs δικαιοῦν and δοξάζειν; the former of which never occurs in the epistle to the Hebrews.

ἐγγίζειν τῷ Θεῷ borrowed from the LXX. is also unknown to Paul; but is in the epistle of James as well as ours.

The opponents of the Pauline authorship do not insist upon the number of words which are found only in the epistle to the Hebrews among the New Testament writings; because, though there are 168 such,¹ there are 113 in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and yet the former has three chapters less than the latter. Yet the argument is valid within certain limits. Such as were chosen to suit the rhetorical character of the epistle, or arose out of the author's characteristic circle of ideas, are in point.

Every reader feels that the style is unlike Paul's. The periods are regular and rounded; the rhythm oratorical and smooth. The structure of sentences is more exact than the Pauline; with less abruptness and

¹ Those are specified by Dr. Thayer in his translation of Grimm's Lexicon; who gives 11 of them in the LXX. and queries 10. Many more than 11 are in the LXX.

vigour. Full-toned expressions, words of a poetical complexion, are abundant. Instead of the apostle's dialectic method, his fiery energy and impassioned style, we have the stately and polished eloquence of one who built up rhythmical periods. This oratorical character has influenced the choice of single words and phrases; though it is not seen in them as much as in the conformation and succession of sentences. In the case of single words, it appears in the use of less common in preference to colloquial ones; whose quality, not their number, gives them a voice against the Pauline authorship. Thus *effulgence* and *express image* (i. 3) are employed, instead of *image of God*; and such full-toned poetical words as *μισθαποδοσία* for *μισθός*, *μεγαλωσύνη* (not *μέγεθος*), *ὀρκωμοσία*, *αἵματεκχυσία*, *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*, κ.τ.λ.

Greek particles are used in our epistle with greater copiousness and variety than in any of Paul's of equal length. Thus *τε* usually followed by *καὶ* occurs nineteen times; whereas in the epistle to the Romans, containing three chapters more than ours, it appears but thirteen times; and in first Corinthians only four times. It is remarkable how often *γὰρ* is used, even where other conjunctions might have been more appropriate. The use of *ἀλλά* before a negative question is singular (iii. 16); no example of it occurring in the epistle to the Romans. So too the employment of *εἴτα* in the progress of an argument (xii. 9), and of *δήπου* (ii. 16).

The care observable in the conformation of sentences has been often noticed. The author studied euphony and rhetorical effect. This is exemplified in the first three verses of the epistle, where there is the music of poetry, with its stately dignity and full-toned utterance. Another example is conspicuous in vii. 4, where the position of the word *patriarch*, which Paul never uses, gives a fine effect to the sentence. Instances may also

be seen in xii. 1, 2; vi. 4-6; v. 7-10; vii. 22; ix. 11, 12.

While the writer of our epistle abounds in participial constructions, he keeps them from embarrassing the simplicity and regularity of his periods, which they often do in Paul's epistles.

We find the two correspondent clauses (protasis and apodosis) of a sentence which contribute to the rounding of periods. Compare ii. 2-4, 14, 15; ix. 13, 14. There are no anomalies (anacolutha), which are so frequent in Paul. Long parentheses, with shorter ones thrown into their midst as the impassioned spirit of the great apostle hurries forward piling clause on clause, do not turn the construction aside from the method of its commencement. The sentences are not marked by interruptions, inversions, involutions. The calmness of the writer prevents such ruggedness. Bleek quotes a striking example from xii. 18-24, where, though there is a long parenthesis enclosing a shorter, the thread of discourse is continued without departure from the right construction. Compare also vii. 20-22; v. 7-10; xii. 1, 2. The only apparent exceptions are in ii. 9 and iii. 15.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from style? If the tone of the writer be elevated, rhetorical, polished, is it not unlike Paul's? Let it be admitted that the apostle's style varies in his epistles; that does not explain the dissimilarity here observable; because the diversity which appears in his writings is compatible with substantial unity. Let it also be admitted that Paul's relation to the Palestinian Christians differed from his relation to other believers, because he was not one of their teachers. He did not found the Roman church; and the style of the epistle addressed to it is very different from that of the present. The object he had in view and the subject discussed will not explain the elevated tone; for these did not need a loftier diction

than the subjects of the Pauline epistles. The contents of the letter to the Romans demanded an equally oratorical style. If it be thought that because the epistle resembles a treatise on a great subject it should be dignified, calm, and solemn; yet Paul's fire does not burst forth even in the hortatory part, where no trace of his characteristic manner appears. And is it not strange that the apostle should adopt a purer Greek and higher style of writing in an epistle addressed to Jewish Christians—to readers who were the worst judges of good Greek? Had they been cultivated Gentiles, an elegant tone would have been appropriate; why polish the diction and round the periods for the use of Jewish believers? We are therefore brought to the conclusion, that the apostle Paul did not write the letter.

A few expressions look as if the writer wished to personate Paul. In xiii. 19 he desires his readers to pray that he may be restored to them; and says that his brother Timothy having been set at liberty, he should come with him to see them (ver. 23). The main doctrine which runs through the epistle, the priesthood of Christ, is sufficient of itself to set aside Pauline authorship.

These arguments cannot be overthrown by attempts to find parallels between the language of this epistle and of those written by the apostle. De Groot¹ adduces a great array of passages in our epistle and the Pauline writings, where the same or synonymous words are employed; or where the shade of thought is peculiar and homogeneous, though the language is somewhat different. With the same object, Forster has given lists of words in the Septuagint or apocrypha, which occur only in Paul's epistles and that to the Hebrews; of words not in the Septuagint or apocrypha found only in the two classes of writings; and of words occasionally occurring elsewhere in the New Testament, but peculiar in the

¹ *Disputatio qua epistola ad Hebræos cum Paulinis epistolis comparatur.* 1826, 8vo.

manner or frequency of their occurrence to the epistles compared. Other linguistic parallels are gathered by Stuart and Biesenthal. Such reasoning is delusive, because some similarity of ideas and diction is not denied. That similarity, however, is weakened by the fact that the internal relation of the epistle to the Pauline writings is scarcely so great as the likeness between it and Peter's first epistle. It is the diversity amid similarity which makes a different writer probable; the characteristic conceptions and terminology indicating an independent author. The Christian who wrote our epistle, being familiar with Paul's writings, must necessarily present some agreement with the apostle; as a distinct person living in another intellectual atmosphere, he exhibits features not Pauline—lines of thought and modes of expression betraying Alexandrian spiritualism.

When a canon was being formed and Paul's epistles collected, the letter to the Hebrews was not put among but at the end of them, as in the old Syriac version. Whether a collection of those epistles was made before the end of the first century, and was appended to that incipient canon so early, is doubtful; but the thirteen epistles received that to the Hebrews as an appendage in the second century, though absent from Marcion's canon. Such procedure took place in the West; in the East the epistle met with a late reception.

How then does the matter stand with regard to the Pauline authorship? Is ecclesiastical tradition on the one side and internal evidence on the other? Early tradition is divided on the subject, the West and East disagreeing. Oriental tradition itself is not unanimous before the fourth century; nor did the Western unite in a Pauline authorship before the fifth. Internal evidence, combined with the early Western scepticism, outweighs the tradition of the Eastern church. If it be said that the very difficulties of style, phraseology, etc., presented by the epistle increase the force of the external

testimony, since nothing but a thoroughly authentic tradition could have maintained itself against these difficulties, we reply, that the difficulties changed the tradition by compelling the writers who followed it to resort to an *indirect* Pauline authorship. So far from enhancing, they weaken the strength of the external evidence by the hypothesis that the thoughts are Paul's, the composition and language another's.

The Pauline authorship has been given up by every scholar except Hofmann, whose conjectures about Paul being freed from his Roman captivity and going to Brundisium, whence he sent the letter to Antioch, will not be accepted. Another writer must be sought; and here the conjecture of Luther in ascribing the authorship to Apollos, though not new, is ingenious, because it accounts both for the similarity and dissimilarity of the doctrine to Paul's. Though Apollos was a friend of the apostle, he occupied so independent a position as to be made the head of a party in the Corinthian church. The allegorising character of the epistle, its typification of the Old Testament, its familiarity with the Septuagint, its accord with Alexandrian philosophy, suit Apollos. We see that the author's acquaintance with the Old Testament was derived entirely from the Greek version, that he knew little of the Hebrew text, and that there is a great resemblance between his work and Philo's writings in reasoning, ideas, phrases, and words. As Apollos was an Alexandrian Jew, an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, he might well write the epistle. In any case, no Palestinian was so imperfectly acquainted with the arrangement of the tabernacle; none viewed the Old Testament institutions as shadowy emblems of Christianity; disregarding the letter for the spirit, or rather extracting a hidden sense which set aside the original one. This Philonian method argues a style of thought moulded by Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy in the first century of our era. The writer either read

Philo, or was imbued with the spirit of his teaching. The probability that Apollos wrote the epistle is not weakened by Delitzsch's assertion of the near relationship which Paul's acknowledged letters bear to Philo's Alexandrianism;¹ because that relationship is distant in comparison with ours. Neither is it set aside by the fact that Clement of Rome, writing to the Corinthians and using the epistle to the Hebrews, does not designate the latter as the production of their former teacher Apollos; or by the silence of the ancient church with respect to the Apollos-hypothesis.² But we shall see that other considerations negative his authorship.

It is not necessary to show how much of Philo's peculiar style and sentiment was owing to his Jewish, and how much to his Alexandrian, habits of thought. The advocates of the epistle's authorship should not be asked to do an impossible thing. It is sufficient for them to make it as probable as the nature of the case allows, that a Jewish Christian imbued with Alexandrian philosophy was the author. We do not say that a Jew who had never left Palestine *could not* have written the epistle; but we affirm that all evidence is clearly against that hypothesis. No Palestinian could be so ignorant as to say that the high priest went *daily* into the temple to offer sacrifice (vii. 27), or that he stood daily ministering (x. 11);³ whereas Philo speaks of the high priest's *daily* ministrations.⁴

It is admitted that the typical mode of interpretation was not peculiar to Alexandrian Jews, for those of Palestine used it; not however to the same extent or in the same manner. If a distinction were made between typical interpretation and allegorising, the former is

¹ *Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer*, Einleit. pp. xxvi, xxvii.

² Wieseler's *Eine Untersuchung u. s. w.* p. 69.

³ The various reading *ιερεύς* in the latter passage obviates the objection as far as it is founded on x. 11.

⁴ *εὐχὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας τελῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*.—*De speciall. legg.* vol. ii. p. 321, ed. Mangey.

more applicable to the Palestinian Jews; the latter to Philo. Let it be allowed that Philo's allegories have to a great extent a different character from the typification of our epistle, though this assertion of Mynster's is questionable; the method of the latter, the point of view from which its author surveys the Old Testament, and the extent to which he allegorises the Jewish economy, resemble Philo more than a Palestinian. It is unreasonable to look for an exact parallel between Philo's doctrine and that of our author, because the one was a Jew and the other a Christian. Mynster's statement too, approved though it be by Tholuck, that the spirit of Philo is as distant from the epistle's as heaven is from earth, is an exaggerated one.¹ Whatever limitations there be to the resemblance between the school of Philo and our author, no critic will deny that the likeness exists to an extent which Palestinian Judaism does not admit. It is therefore unavailing on the part of Tholuck to quote Olshausen and Doepke for Palestinian exegesis, or Von Coelln and Mynster about Philo, to break the force of the similarity between the method of the Alexandrian Jews as exemplified by Philo and that of the Palestinians. Though the line of demarcation between Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism was not so sharply marked then as it afterwards was between the latter and Rabbinism, both were distinguished by individual features, indicating the presence or absence of a free breath proceeding from the Platonic philosophy. It is to be regretted that Frankel has thrown no light upon the subject in his two books on the Septuagint, though the title of one leads the reader to expect it.²

The question whether the writer used Philo's writ-

¹ *Ueber den Verfasser des Hebräerbriefs. Studien und Kritiken* for 1829, p. 336.

² *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841; *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, 1851.

ings must be answered in the affirmative. Bleek has selected from Schulz and others twenty-two passages, which resemble parts of the epistle, in idea and expression; and it is not easy to resist the impression that the correspondence is more than accidental. A perusal of them makes it probable that the author of our epistle had read Philo. The epistle reflects the manner of that rationalistic Jew. A succession of Old Testament passages artificially united is treated in a learned way, and made to sustain important conclusions; while the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is handled in Philonian fashion. Deep senses or allegories, ingenious meanings, are found in the letter which resembles a discourse or treatise on the Old Testament by a Christian orator.

The same idea is expressed with regard to the same promise made to Abraham, in vi. 13 and Philo, viz. that God did not swear by another but by Himself.¹ King of Salem is interpreted 'King of Peace,' as in vii. 1, etc.;² while the rare word rendered 'without mother' (vii. 3), is in Philo.³

The statement, 'Moses was faithful in all his house' (iii. 5), occurs in Philo,⁴ in the very same words; and the term translated 'brightness' or 'effulgence'⁵ is a frequent Philonian one. So also the Alexandrian writer often speaks of the word of God having a cutting and dividing power,⁶ similarly to iv. 12.

The peculiar expression, 'high priest of our profession,' is Philonian;⁷ and 'the Father of spirits' (xii. 9) refers to Philo's view of the soul's origin. The narrative respecting Moses refusing to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and preferring the reproaches

¹ *Leg. Allegor.* vol. i. p. 127, ed. Mangey.

² *Ibid.* p. 102.

³ *De Ebrietate*, vol. i. p. 368.

⁴ *Leg. Allegor.* pp. 128, 132.

⁵ ἀπαύγασμα.

⁶ *Quis rerum divinarum hæres*, vol. i. pp. 491, 492, 504, 506.

⁷ *De Somniis*, vol. i. p. 654. Mangéy, however, thinks the reading corrupt.

attaching to his people to the splendour of a court (xi. 24-26), is like Philo.¹ Philonian passages, i.e. such as are conceived and expressed similarly to Philo, are: iv. 13; v. 8, 13, 14; vi. 13, etc.; vii. 7-26; ix. 7; x. 22, 23-29; xi. 1, 9-16, as may be seen in Carpzov's 'Sacred Exercitations' on the epistle. The quotation in xiii. 5 is Philonian;² xi. 4 and xiii. 2 agree with passages in his writing. Indeed, the 11th chapter is contained in Philo, often in the same words.³

The Apollos-authorship is still insecure; the objections to it being weighty. Against it is the fact that no trace of such authorship occurs in the early Alexandrian church.

There is no trace of Apollos's name in connection with the epistle in ecclesiastical tradition. Clement, Barnabas, Luke are mentioned, not Apollos. This is a difficulty which cannot be solved independently. It may help, perhaps, to an explanation of it, that when the catholic Christians of the second century wished to form a list of the sacred books, and to get names for the anonymous ones, they would take those best known. Clement was a conspicuous man in the Roman church, the reputed author of an epistle; Barnabas was Paul's companion and an apostle; Luke was an evangelist and associate of Paul. Apollos's name was not so conspicuous as any of these; nor was he intimately associated with Paul. He would therefore be passed over, while the former were adopted by the early collectors of the canon.

But this is conjecture. It is also unfavourable to the Apollos-authorship that we have no knowledge of that Alexandrian Christian having been at Rome; whereas it is implied in xiii. 19 that the writer had belonged to the church there. It is improbable that Apollos ever left Greece or Asia Minor. Hence it is

¹ *De Vita Mosis*, vol. ii. p. 84.

² *De Confusione Linguarum*, vol. i. p. 430.

³ Hilgenfeld's *Einleitung*, p. 384.

safer to rest in the assumption that an unknown Christian at Alexandria, who had once belonged to the Roman church, wrote the epistle to the Hebrews.¹ But we cannot approve of Holtzmann's conjecture that he had been banished by Domitian, and was thinking of returning to Rome under Nerva.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

It is probable that the epistle was composed before the destruction of Jerusalem, because temple-worship is supposed to exist at the time. We admit that the present tenses *offer, go, enters, is brought, are burned* (viii. 3, 4; ix. 6, 7, 25; xiii. 11) are irrelevant because they refer to the tabernacle; but other considerations favour the idea that the temple still stood. An ideal sanctuary sketched by the writer according to the Mosaic tabernacle and erroneous in some particulars, is an easy way of dissipating his meaning, but one acquiesced in by Pfeleiderer.²

From xiii. 23, it appears that Timothy was no longer Paul's companion; so that the notice of the apostle's imprisonment, with which Timothy's was probably connected, alludes to a period after his death, i.e. after A.D. 64. The Jewish insurrection against the Romans broke out in Judea and Alexandria A.D. 66; and there is no specific mention of it in the epistle. Yet the agitations and ferments that ushered in the Jewish war had begun, since signs of Christ's second coming were visible (x. 25); and the readers were exposed to trials which exercised their patience (xii. 4, 5; xiii. 13). In view of all the circumstances, we conclude that the letter was probably written by a moderate Paulinist A.D. 66. The date is brought down much later by Holtzmann, Schenkel, Von Soden, and others,

¹ See Grimm in the *Göttingen. Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1881, p. 72, etc.

² *Urchristenthum*, p. 624.

viz. to the time of Domitian; while Volkmar fixes upon A.D. 116–118, followed by Keim and Hausrath; while Pfeiderer supposes 95–115. The reasons in favour of these dates are not strong. Holtzmann and Von Soden argue best in favour of a Domitianic date; but the latter's lengthened answer to Koestlin and Grimm with his wordy attempt to show that the epistle is not addressed to Jewish Christians, breaks down.¹

How could the sacred author have considered it necessary to prove from Jeremiah xxxi. 31–34 that the Mosaic worship was decaying, waxing old, ready to vanish away, had the destruction of Jerusalem with its temple been already past?

Again, the question in x. 2, 'Would not in that case the sacrifices have ceased to be offered?' implies their present existence.

In xiii. 9 we read, 'it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace; not with meats,' etc. Here the existence of sacrificial feasts is implied in the exhortation to establish the heart with grace, not with such levitical things.

The epistle does not contain the least indication that the Mosaic worship was abolished by the destruction of the city. The great catastrophe is ignored. Would not its mention have emphasised the author's reasoning that sacrifice had ceased for ever, convincing his judaically inclined readers that all hope of its restoration was vain? We cannot suppose with Holtzmann that such a hope was generally entertained till the failure of Barcochba's rebellion.

Let it be allowed that Jerusalem and its temple are not expressly mentioned in the time of the writer; and that the tabernacle rather than the temple is in his mind when he describes the levitical worship. He takes the primitive rather than the later sanctuary, perhaps

¹ See the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1884, p. 441, etc.

because it was simpler; and there is every reason for believing that he was a stranger to Jerusalem.

Whatever be said about the writer's ideal theocratic standpoint making it possible for him to speak of the Jewish worship as still existing, the words of viii. 13 stand in the way. And the rudimental knowledge of Christianity belonging to the readers (v. 12) disagrees with their long past conversion, as also with the great danger they stood in of going back to Judaism.

Many conjectures have been made respecting the abode of the author and of the persons he addresses. That he was not in Italy, i.e. at Rome, we infer from xiii. 24, etc. 'They of Italy salute you' is a phrase implying that the writer was not in that country. Had he been there, he would have said, 'they in Italy,' according to the analogy of 1 Peter v. 13. Perhaps Italian Christians, who had fled from their country on the breaking out of Nero's persecution and taken refuge in the locality of the author, are indicated by the expression. The place where it originated was probably Alexandria. The Sinaitic MS. with C. has only the subscription, 'to the Hebrews;' but A. adds 'from Rome,' and K. 'from Italy.'

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED.

A satisfactory conclusion respecting the readers for whom the work was originally designed cannot be reached. The title, 'to the Hebrews,' which did not proceed from the author, and is not older than the beginning of the second century, though it is found in the most ancient MSS., does not contribute to the settlement of the question, because the New Testament use of 'Hebrew' is simply an Israelite by nation and religion, a descendant of Abraham; as Phil. iii. 5, and 2 Cor. xi. 22, attest. Yet the title, unoriginal as it is, has had some effect in assigning the church to Palestine

and Jerusalem; though it merely expresses the opinion of one or more persons who lived many years after. It is appropriate enough if it be not so restricted as to exclude *all* Gentile Christians from the community addressed. The attempt to restrict it to the Jews of Palestine, as distinguished from those dwelling in other countries, is more plausible than satisfactory. Yet it has been a common view that the epistle is addressed to Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, and various arguments are adduced to support it, the strongest of which are these:—

1. The letter was written to Jewish Christians exclusively. No reference occurs to other converts, a fact pointing to Palestine, in which alone the Church consisted of Jewish believers.

The fact that the congregations in Palestine were unmixed with Gentile converts is liable to doubt, as Acts x. 44, 45; xi. 1, etc.; xv. 7, etc., show. Besides, it is not correct that the readers are assumed to be Jewish Christians exclusively, though they were not Gentile converts of a Judaising type, as Schürer argues.¹

2. Chap. xiii. ver. 12, states that Jesus suffered 'without the gate,' which supposes the readers' familiarity with Jerusalem.

It was not necessary to live in Jerusalem to know that fact.

3. Those addressed had been exposed to reproach and persecution (x. 32–34), showing that the author was thinking of the early time of the Christian church at Jerusalem, and especially the persecutions preceding and following Stephen's martyrdom.

As the readers of the epistle must have been a second generation of Palestinian Christians and had not yet resisted unto blood, we cannot see with what propriety the writer could have alluded to persecutions which they did not themselves endure.

¹ *Studien und Kritiken* for 1876, p. 776.

On the other hand, serious difficulties lie in the way of this view.

1. The epistle was written in Greek not Aramæan, and the latter would have been more suitable to Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, being the medium of religious intercourse. The work is even composed in a more polished Greek, which would make it less appreciated by the church there. Besides, the author's knowledge of the Old Scriptures rests so exclusively upon the Septuagint, that he reasons on that basis where it departs entirely from the Hebrew; which he would hardly have ventured to do had he been writing to Palestinians.

2. The writer reproaches his readers with ignorance of Christianity, considering the time that had elapsed since they became acquainted with it. This is unsuitable to a church, from which all the teachers of Christianity originally proceeded; and is particularly out of place in the mouth of one who was not himself an immediate disciple of Christ (ii. 3). A church which had men like James at its head, from which Silas and Mark proceeded, could not have been so weak in faith or lukewarm, as to be in danger of falling back into Judaism between A.D. 60 and 70.

3. The epistle speaks of a strong leaning to Judaism on the part of the readers, which is inapplicable to the Christian church at Jerusalem, where, as we infer from Acts ii. 46; v. 42; xxi. 20-26, the native Jews worshipped in the temple from the beginning. How could they be warned against apostasy from what they were attached to? The 'strange doctrines' of xiii. 9 refer to Mosaic institutions; how could the Jewish worship be strange to the Christians at Jerusalem, who were not afraid of reproaches because they maintained an old custom sanctioned by the example of the apostles themselves? It is clear from Acts xxi. 20, that the fanatical Jewish Christians at Jerusalem insisted upon the observance of old customs. Hence an epistle of

Hellenistic Alexandrian cast was ill suited to the state of their knowledge, or to prevent withdrawal from the new religion in favour of the old. As their Christianity was of this primitive type, unlike that which had a Philonian cast, it was unsusceptible of advancement in such direction.

4. The Christians in Judea were poor, and had received contributions from churches abroad. This does not harmonise with the contents of the epistle, which warn the readers against covetousness (xiii. 5), recommend liberality (xiii. 1, 2, 16), and praise them for beneficence (vi. 10). According to Wieseler, the last passage even affords a presumption of these very Christians having contributed to the collections made for the poor saints in Jerusalem. And he is right; for *the saints* is a standing appellation of the Jerusalem Christians. Those who were called first by Christ and his apostles—the earliest recipients of the divine word—are so styled by way of eminence.

5. Considering the separation that took place between Paul and the Christians at Jerusalem, it is difficult to understand how one entertaining the same views as Paul did about the obligation of the law, could have been so closely allied to the church as xiii. 18, 19, implies, or have sent them greetings from the Italians who were unknown to the Jerusalemite believers.

These arguments are decisive against the hypothesis that the epistle was written to the Jewish Christians in Palestine, especially those at Jerusalem; and Langen¹ has done little to weaken them.

What then can be said in favour of Alexandria? More than for Palestine, though it is not certain that readers in Egypt were addressed. Some considerations seem to countenance that view; yet they do not carry strong conviction. It is favourable to an Alexandrian circle of readers, that Greek was the language used in

¹ *Theolog. Quartalschrift* for 1863.

the synagogues there; that the writer employs the Septuagint in its Alexandrian recension; and that he even brings out of the Old Testament something not in it but only in the Greek (xi. 21–28). The version had so great authority there, that the author could base his reasoning upon it notwithstanding incorrectnesses; and allegorise to readers accustomed to such interpretation. There is also a passage which is taken from the second book of the Maccabees (Hebrews xi. 35–37, compared with 2 Maccab. chapters vi. and vii.); a fact favouring Alexandria, for that book was written in Egypt. Indeed the best commentary on xi. 32–34 is the fate of the Jews at Alexandria under Caligula, described by Philo in his work against Flaccus—persecutions repeated in the year 40, according to the same author.¹ Such scenes must have affected in some degree the Jewish Christians there. ‘*They* had not yet resisted unto blood,’ as the writer states.² The complexion of the epistle would procure for it a ready acceptance among the Jewish Christians. These considerations, however, apply to the personality of the writer as much as to the locality of the readers.

The chief argument relied upon in favour of Alexandrian readers is the supposed description of the temple in vii. 27; ix. 1–5; x. 11, which does not suit the structure in Jerusalem, but is said to agree with that in Leontopolis. Thus in vii. 27, the high priest is represented as *daily* offering up sacrifice—first, for his own sins, and then for the people’s; in Philo the same official is said to offer prayers and sacrifices *every day*. But this writer does not assert that the high priest did so in the temple at Leontopolis. It is impossible to show that the altar of incense stood in the holy of holies in the Egyptian temple, on which the priest offered daily.

¹ *De legatione ad Caium*, in vol. ii. of Mangey’s ed.

² See Köstlin on the Epistle, in the *Tübingen Jahrbücher* for 1854, p. 395, *et seq.*

The deviations of the epistle to the Hebrews from the arrangements of the temple at Jerusalem cannot be identified with the usages of that at Leontopolis. If it could be shown that the altar of incense stood there in the most holy place, and that the high priest presented a *sin offering* on it daily, the matter would be clear ; but Philo does not help us to this. That the temple of Onias, though built after the model of that in Jerusalem, differed from it in various respects, may be inferred from the Talmud and Josephus ; but that the divergence of the copy from the original explains why the holy of holies, which was empty at Jerusalem, is said to have contained the ark, with the pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and the tables of stone—the pot of manna and the rod being *in* the ark, not *before* it, and the altar of incense also being *in* the most holy place, not *before* it (ix. 4, 5)—cannot be sustained. All that can be said in explanation is, that the writer, instead of having solely in his mind the sin offering of the high priest on the great day of atonement, mixed up with it the daily sacrifices of the Levitical priests, which might be done the more readily because the Mishna states that the high priest could do it as often as he pleased ; and Josephus, that he joined the ordinary priests in their work of sacrifice, on many occasions. Wieseler's arguments connecting vii. 27 ; ix. 1–5 ; x. 11, with the temple in Egypt, fail to carry conviction. The author's reasoning is not founded on the temple of Jerusalem or that of Onias in Egypt, but on the original Mosaic institutions, which he holds to be imperfect shadows of things to come. He takes *the tabernacle*, which suited his purpose better than the temple, because it was an easier instrument for carrying out his allegorising details respecting the relation between the high priests of the Old and New Testaments. 'Christ entered through the greater and more perfect *tabernacle* into the holy place.'¹ What most recommends the view of the

¹ Köstlin, in the *Tübingen Jahrb.* for 1854, p. 423, etc.

readers being Alexandrian is the improbability of the epistle being addressed to Jewish Christians elsewhere. How could others appreciate or understand his reasoning? Could they follow his spiritualising of Judaism, or his spiritual coincidences of its organic arrangements with Christianity? Even in Alexandria, the majority could scarcely apprehend the argument of the epistle, much less the Jewish believers elsewhere. The circumstances of the readers must be considered as well as the writer.

The epistle of Barnabas, which is an Alexandrian production belonging to the second decade of the second century, confirms the view now given of the epistle to the Hebrews. Like the latter, it presents Paulinism in a developed state, and proceeds a step further in the path opened up by our letter. It takes the spiritual sense resulting from the law of typical interpretation as the abiding truth of the Old Testament, so that the gnosis of Christianity emerges through the letter of the law into a *new* law; and Christianity itself, having abolished the literal acceptance of the law, becomes 'the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, having no yoke of necessity.' The path opened up by the epistle to the Hebrews is followed out in Barnabas.

If the view of those who deny the epistolary character of the work were correct, it would be unnecessary to look for a definite circle of readers. But the title of *epistle* accorded to the production at an early period cannot be discarded, for it is not without countenance in the letter itself. Reuss's description of the epistle as 'a rhetorical essay upon the superiority of Christianity to Judaism with an epistolary appendix having no connection with the preceding part,' is a needless refinement. The first epistle of John has no epistolary introduction, and is not less a letter on that account. There are also passages concerning the individual and concrete relations of a church (ii. 3; v. 11, 12; vi. 10; x. 25, 32-36; xii. 4). The writer sustained a well-known relation to his readers, whose state and circumstances he

describes, blaming them severely for their want of progress, and exhorting to steadfastness. If it was not addressed to specific readers, the epistle is unintelligible. Hence it cannot be considered a circular treatise intended for all Jewish Christians but only for those of a certain place, as the last chapter, where they are requested to pray for the writer that he may be restored to them, and to obey their teachers, shows. They are also informed that Timothy is released, from whom they might expect a visit along with the author. Salutations are sent to their presiding elders. These facts imply mutual acquaintance. Although, therefore, the former part of the epistle is like a general dissertation intended for readers confined to no particular district or country, the conclusion restricts its scope, and justifies in a measure the common title of a *letter* (xiii. 22). A probable opinion is that the epistle was addressed to the Jewish Christians in Rome, as Holtzmann,¹ Zahn, Pfeiderer, and others try to show.² The writer had some connection with Italy, as xiii. 19, 23, 24 indicate; the epistle was not heard of in the Alexandrian church till nearly a century after its appearance; nor was its authorship known there before Pantænus, to whom its allegorising method must have recommended it; so that he and his successors in the school of Alexandria, being unacquainted with the author, were desirous of attaching it to the great apostle. On the whole this view of the parties addressed is probable, though some arguments may be adduced against it. How could it be said, for example, that the Roman Christians had not yet resisted unto blood when the Neronian persecution was past? The apostle Paul had taught at Rome not long before, fixing his conceptions of Christianity in the Christian church. Is it likely that another would soon address the Jewish Christians of the place so differently? If it

¹ See Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. viii. p. 532; *Studien und Kritiken* for 1859, p. 297, etc.; Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, x. 1, etc.; Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, p. 338, etc., 2nd ed.

² See Herzog's *Encyklopädie*, vol. v. p. 666, etc.

be said that the Philonian nature of the work is due to the writer, not the readers, we ask, Would not a Pauline Christian have given his instructions a form better adapted to the intelligence of his readers? Is it likely that the influences of Rome would tempt the Jewish Christians there back to the old religion? Did Judaism flourish after the martyrdom of Paul and the Neronian persecution? On the contrary, Christianity increased and prevailed; the ancient religion proportionally declining in the esteem of the cultivated. Jewish Christianity kept its ground long after; but Judaism had little attraction for those who thought they had its essentials in the type of Christianity which took Peter for its representative. Yet xii. 4 is not altogether inconsistent with the state of the Jewish Christians at Rome between 66 and 67 A.D., because the writer alludes to their struggle against sin, not sinners or persecuting heathen, having already referred to the fearful times gone by in x. 32, 33. We cannot therefore believe that the author was ignorant of the Neronian persecution. Perhaps also Jewish Christians in Rome had separated as much as they could from the body of the church at the time of the Neronian sufferings, claiming to be Jews in order to escape the fiery test. This would be a great temptation to draw them back to the old religion. It should be remembered too that the Roman church consisted not only of Gentiles and Jewish Christians proper, but also of Jewish proselytes, whose minds, influenced by Paulinism towards a wider culture, had embraced a Judaism whose repulsive points were smoothed; and to these the author's Alexandrian teaching was well suited.

One thing is pretty certain, that the church addressed was not an unmixed Jewish-Christian one. These converts were part of a larger congregation, perhaps its original nucleus; and they had begun to absent themselves from the assemblies as well as to think lightly of the elders.

LANGUAGE.

The epistle was written in Greek. The opinion that it was written in Hebrew is untenable, though advocated by Michaelis and Biesenthal. In favour of its being composed in Greek, we may refer to the style, which has the freedom and ease of an original, to the exclusive use of the Septuagint even in its mistakes, as at i. 6, and ii. 7, where the rendering of the Hebrew *Elohim* (gods) by *angels* is taken from the Greek, though the Hebrew word does not bear that sense; to the paronomasias, which though possible in the case of a version, are improbable (v. 8; x. 38, 39; xi. 37; xiii. 14); and especially to the double meaning of *διαθήκη* (*covenant* and *testament*) in ix. 16, 17, which the corresponding Hebrew word does not permit; to the interpretation of the Hebrew terms *Melchizedek* and *Salem* (vii. 2) by corresponding Greek words; and to the fact, that Greek terms appear which could only have been expressed in Hebrew or Aramæan by a circumlocution.¹ The sole argument of any weight on the opposite side is derived from the parties supposed to be addressed, Jewish Christians in Palestine, whose vernacular dialect was not Greek but Aramæan—an argument which has no force against such as believe that the letter was addressed to the Jewish Christians at Rome.

OCCASION AND OBJECT.

The immediate cause of the letter was the state of the Roman Jews who had embraced Christianity and were in danger of apostatising. In consequence of their position, the author addressed them that they might be established in the faith. The relative claims of Judaism and Christianity had often engaged the attention of Paul; but this writer shows the superiority of the

¹ Compare i. 1, 3; xii. 1, 2; and in ii. 5, 8, the verb *ὑποτάσσω*.

one religion to the other in a different way. He does not attack the Jewish economy, but states its use and purport. According to him, it was typical. Why then should his readers go back to that which the new religion presented in a better form? To prevent their return to the old, the author of the epistle sets forth the new under the aspect of a priesthood, a spiritual priesthood, with a great high priest unchanging and eternal, ever living to intercede, and ever prevailing with his Father in heaven for the good of his people. Atoning power is centred in him who offered himself once for all, and entered into the true holy of holies as the author and finisher of faith. The old economy is in the new. It would therefore be folly in persons who had tasted the heavenly gift to fall back into a system which is defective and transient. If the law completed nothing, and if Christianity introduced a better hope founded on a new priesthood, why renounce the satisfactory for the weak? Thus the author's tone is conciliatory; and his Alexandrian Paulinism gave a new aspect to Judaism.

CONTENTS.

The epistle has been variously divided, some separating it into three leading parts, others into two. The latter is preferable, i.e. i. 1-x. 18; and x. 19-xiii. 25. The first portion is doctrinal, the second hortatory. Bleek objects to the twofold division as unsuitable, because the nature of the entire epistle is admonitory; observing that the didactic statements of the one part are intersected by admonitions, and that the doctrinal and hortatory in the other are not separated. Yet the didactic element preponderates in i. 1-x. 18; the practical in x. 19-xiii. Without therefore meaning to intimate that the author himself had the division in his mind, the separation at x. 19 is the most convenient. From xiii. 18 to the end is a sort of appendix.

1. To show the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, the writer begins with comparing Christ, the founder of the new economy, to the mediators of the old. As angels took part in the law's promulgation, and Moses was mediator between God and the Israelites, Christ is shown to be more exalted than both. He is the Son of God, the Creator of heaven and earth. Angels worship him ; for instead of being like him at the head of the kingdom, they are only ministering spirits to the redeemed, employed in executing the commands of a superior. The argument has more respect to personal dignity than to exalted functions. To apply it, an admonition is subjoined respecting the greater attention due to the salvation announced by Christ. If neglect of the law given by the mediation of angels could not be tolerated with impunity, much less can disregard of the gospel. In prosecuting the proof of Christ's superiority to angels, he states that the future world or Christianity is not subjected to them but to the Son, as is proved by Psalm viii. But in asserting Christ's dominion, he feels that an objection might arise. We do not see yet all things put under him ; to obviate which he shows why Christ must take a lower station than the angels, and suffer death in it. His humiliation unto death was necessary, in fulfilment of the divine design to provide an atonement for sin, as he did not come to rescue and redeem angels but men (i. ii.).

The author now compares Christ with Moses the executive head of the old dispensation, and his statement takes the form of exhortation. Look to Christ, he says, who is faithful to God as Moses was, and yet far exalted above him. *He* was counted worthy of greater honour than Moses, as the founder of a community is greater than the community itself. Moses himself was a servant to the founder ; Christ was the Son. To this is annexed a warning against unbelief,

drawn from the Israelites in the wilderness. Quoting Psalm xcvi., he expatiates on the meaning of the passage, showing that the promised rest into which the Israelites could not enter because of unbelief, included a spiritual rest still future. We should therefore strive to enter into that rest ; for the word of God, especially its commination, has a living power to seize on and judge the spirit (iii. 1-iv. 13).

Having instituted a comparison between Christ and Moses, and gone off into a warning digression, he considers the former as a high priest, as proposed at the commencement of the third chapter. The proof that he is a high priest begins with a parallel. A human priest appointed for the service of men, partakes of the weaknesses of humanity, and is able to sympathise with erring men by entering into their feelings. As the earthly high priest is appointed by God, so is Christ. His office is not usurped any more than theirs. But the parallel is postponed, the writer introducing the old priestly king Melchizedek, instead of the Levitical high priest. Before he proceeds, however, to compare Christ and Melchizedek, he inserts a hortatory passage, complaining of his readers' slow understanding, and affirming that they needed instruction in first principles rather than the difficult truths alluded to. But he waives the discussion of elementary doctrine, and advances to the higher truths, justifying that course by the fact that it is impossible to restore the fallen. He thus warns them against apostatising to Judaism, moderating his tone in the end by expressing a wish that they would attain to the full assurance of hope. And to encourage them in this, the example of Abraham is adduced, to whom, as well as to all believers, the promise was confirmed by an oath (iv. 14-vi. 20).

Returning to the point he had left, viz. the representation of Christ's priesthood after the order of Mel-

chizedek, he shows its superiority to the Levitical. It is perpetual and above the Levitical, because Abraham himself paid tithes to Melchizedek, the less being blessed by the greater. In Abraham all his descendants may be considered as acknowledging Melchizedek's superiority. And if the priesthood be changed, the law too must be changed. The difference of the Christian priesthood is exhibited in descent, and in the power of an endless office, as is testified in Psalm cx. The Mosaic law, which was abrogated, is contrasted with that introduced in its stead. The one was weak and unprofitable, the other introduced a better hope. The Levitical priests were made without an oath; the new priesthood was appointed by an oath. The Levitical line was mortal; Christ lives for ever. The Aaronic priests were sinful and must offer sacrifices both for themselves and the people; Christ is unspotted, and offered himself a sacrifice once for all. Christ is a high priest of the heavenly sanctuary, whose service is superior in proportion as the covenant he established is better. God himself did not regard the first dispensation as permanent or complete, but promised a better one, as is proved by the Old Testament (vii. 1–viii. 13).

The author reverts to the comparison of the ministrations performed by the high priests under the old covenant and by the head of the new, describing the sanctuary with its apartments and furniture, the service of the priests, its symbolical use and unsatisfying nature. But Christ, the high priest of the new covenant, entered once for all into the heavenly sanctuary by means of his own blood, having obtained eternal redemption. If the blood and ashes of beasts had a purifying power, much more has the blood of Christ. If they conferred ceremonial purification, this purifies the conscience. Christ by his death became the founder of a new covenant, and abolished the guilt of sin for ever by the one sacrifice of himself. It was necessary that he

should die, for every covenant is ratified by the death of a victim; and accordingly the Mosaic covenant itself was confirmed by the shedding of blood. On the other hand, the sacrifice of the heavenly high priest is a superior ratification, because he appeared once to destroy sin, and will not appear again till he comes without sin. In continuation of the leading idea that Christ took away sin by the sacrifice of himself, the writer affirms that the sacrifices of the law, repeated yearly, could not give perfect peace of conscience, else they would not have been repeated; and proves by Psalm xl., that whereas God takes no pleasure in sacrifice, He wills that we should be sanctified by the offering of Christ's body. Such sanctification agrees with a promise made respecting the new covenant in the book of Jeremiah, that no more sacrifices should be required (ix. 1-x. 18).

2. This portion consists of a great variety of admonitions.

The author exhorts his readers to appropriate the benefits of Christ's priesthood, and to beware of apostasy, since heavy judgments would overtake such as by falling away despised the grace of God. He encourages them to return to their first love, by reminding them of their steadfastness after their conversion, which they should continue to exhibit. The characteristics of faith are briefly stated, with a long series of Old Testament saints exemplifying its power. It is a strong confidence in things hoped for, a conviction of things unseen. The examples of it are taken from the antediluvian period, from the patriarchal age till Moses, from the exodus till the occupation of Canaan, and from that time till the Maccabees. All these, however, did not realise the promised Messiah, while God provided something better for us, that they should not reach completeness without us. The last examples lead the writer to enjoin steadfastness, while he refers his readers to them as well as

to Christ himself. Chastisement is a salutary discipline, appointed by God for his children's good. He counsels peace with all; dissuades from remissness, impurity, and sinful inclination to forsake God. To the solemn warning against apostasy is prefixed a comparison of the way in which God showed Himself to the Israelites at the giving of the law, with the communion of the new covenant into which Christians have entered. Let believers therefore be thankful for the kingdom they have, serving God with reverence and fear (x. 19–xii. 29).

A number of general exhortations follow. Individual virtues are recommended, as brotherly love, hospitality, compassion, chastity, contentment with present things apart from covetousness. The readers should be steadfast in the Christian faith and worship, after the example of their departed teachers, avoiding Judaism which is inconsistent with a share in Christ's redemption. After enjoining subjection to their pastors, the writer concludes with personal notices; requests an interest in the prayers of his readers, hoping that he might be restored to them the sooner, and closes with a benediction (xiii.). The last four verses (xiii. 22–25) seem to be an addition originating in the wish to represent Paul as the writer, and Timothy his associate as a released prisoner.

The value of this epistle has been variously estimated. Extreme views, like that of Dr. John Owen, who asserts that 'the world may as well want the sun in the firmament as the Church this epistle,' are not worth mentioning. The work has influenced the current of Christian thought. Its doctrine of Logos and Christ's high-priesthood was accepted by later writers, as by Clement of Rome,¹ the author of Polycarp's epistle, and the reviser of the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs. By applying Philo's idea of the Logos to the person of

¹ Comp. chapters xxxvi., lviii.

Christ, his divinity was brought out more than it is in Paul's epistles. The union of Paulinism with the religious philosophy of Alexandria has been far-reaching in its effects, though the former, less objective than that of the epistle, has a higher value. The arguments of our epistle are often weak, mere *argumenta ad hominem*, indicating a Jewish taste for allegory; and the circle of ideas in which the writer moves is too Judaic to commend itself to the acceptance of Christian readers. Thus when it is said that Levi paid tithes to Melchizedek in Abraham, because he was 'in the loins of his father when Melchizedek met him;' that the rest promised to the Jews of old did not refer either to the rest which God is said to have taken on the seventh day of creation or to the possession of Canaan, but to a spiritual rest in heaven; that Psalm cii. 25-27 alludes to Christ there styled Jehovah; that the patriarchs were led on by the desire of *the heavenly* Jerusalem; that the vail separating the two apartments of the temple typified the flesh of Christ; that the heavenly sanctuary must be purified with better things than animal sacrifices,—these and many other statements are peculiar. The view given of the old economy and its arrangements, as if they were foreshadows of Christianity, is ideal. In like manner, the efficacy of Christ's priesthood in heaven is an unpauline sentiment. The epistle has too much of the Alexandrian element to be of the high theological importance which belongs to the larger productions of Paul. But it had an important influence in developing Pauline Christianity through Alexandrian Judaism, and in accelerating the amalgamation of Christian doctrine and philosophy which appears in the fourth gospel. It helped to put primitive Christianity farther away and to prepare for an Alexandrian successor on the basis of a highly developed Paulinism. The best portions are the practical and hortatory, i.e. from x. 19 to the end, where a pure and lofty spirit expresses itself in en-

couraging precepts. Here promises cheer the mind of the believer; hopes of a glorious reward encourage him. He may come boldly to the throne of grace and suffer joyfully, because his great high priest is in heaven, having been made perfect through sufferings. There is no continuing city on earth; the Christian seeks one to come. Many such declarations make the epistle acceptable to the devout mind. But theoretical believers will not find it equally serviceable, though it may stimulate them to run the Christian race with alacrity and zeal.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

CONTENTS.

THE second epistle to the Thessalonians may be divided into three parts : i. 3-12 ; ii. 1-17 ; iii. 1-18.

1. After an introduction, the writer thanks God for the progress of the Thessalonian believers in faith and love, as well as their steadfastness amid persecution. He had often spoken of them in commendation, and assures them that though persecuted now, they should be recompensed at the coming of Christ ; while their enemies would be overthrown. It was his continual prayer to God that they might persevere, and become complete in the Christian character that the name of the Lord might be glorified in them (i. 3-12).

2. He warns them against the notion that the day of the Lord is just at hand, on which point they had been needlessly agitated ; and shows the groundlessness of their fears. The man of sin and son of perdition, was first to appear, and sit in the temple of God. Though the mystery of iniquity had begun to work, there was a restraining influence. After the removal of that barrier, antichrist would be revealed in all his ungodliness, to be signally destroyed. The apostle, however, thanks God that the Thessalonians had been chosen to salvation, admonishing them to stand fast by the instructions he had given, and praying that they might do so by divine help (ii.).

3. He requests his readers to pray for him that he might be successful in spreading Christianity throughout the world, and be preserved from the malice of the wicked Jews. He again expresses his confidence in them, and good wishes on their behalf, annexing a command respecting the idle and disorderly, that the true believers should withdraw from their society. He reminds them of his own example, stating that he had worked with his hands for a subsistence among them, although he had power to require support. Should these persons not amend, he counsels the others to discountenance them, and use the most likely methods of bringing about repentance. The epistle concludes with a salutation written with his own hand, to serve as a mark of authenticity, distinguishing his letters from forgeries which are but vaguely referred to (iii.).

AUTHENTICITY.

External evidence attests the letter's authenticity. The supposititious Polycarp writes: 'Be ye also moderate in this, and do not count such as enemies, but call them back, as suffering and erring members' (2 Thess. iii. 15).¹

Justin Martyr seems to refer to it in these words: 'When also the man of apostasy, who, speaking great things against the Most High, shall dare to commit lawless deeds against us Christians on the earth,' etc.² It must be admitted, however, that the reference of these words to the Thessalonian epistle is doubtful. As Justin never mentions Paul, nor quotes him expressly, but ascribes the honour of a mission to the Gentiles to

¹ νήφετε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθροὺς ἡγείσθε τοὺς τοιούτους, ἀλλ' ὡς μέλη παθητὰ καὶ πεπλανημένα αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλείσθε, ἵνα ὅλον ὑμῶν τὸ σῶμα σώζητε.—*Ad Philippi*. c. xi.

² ὅταν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος, ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον ἔξαλλα λαλῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄνομα πολμήσῃ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς, κ.τ.λ.—*Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 371, cap. 110, p. 390, ed. 3 Otto.

the twelve apostles exclusively, he may not have known Paul's epistles or ignored them if he did. The coincidences which Otto has pointed out between his language and that of the Pauline epistles are very uncertain. Probably he knew but ignored his letters, attributing no apostolic authority to them, after the example of the Jewish Christians. As to the agreement between Justin and Paul in their common quotations from the Septuagint, which has been adduced as evidence of the influence of the latter upon the former, it is explained by the fact that the text of that version had been altered between the time of Paul and Justin after the Hebrew original and Paul's quotations. The Christians had been compelled to amend the version on account of their disputes with the Jews who found fault with it.

Irenæus (177–192) writes: 'And again in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, speaking of antichrist, "And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus Christ shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the presence of his coming; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders."' ¹

Tertullian (about 220) has this language: 'And in the second epistle to the same persons he [Paul] writes with greater solicitude, "But I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, nor be troubled,"' etc. ²

Clement of Alexandria († 220) writes: 'And the apostle says, "There is not in every man that knowledge.

¹ 'Et iterum in secunda ad Thessalonicenses, de antichristo dicens, ait, "Et tunc revelabitur iniquus quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet præsentia adventus sui, illum cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanæ, in omni virtute et signis, et portentis mendacii."—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 7. 2.

² 'Et in secunda, pleniore sollicitudine ad eosdem, "Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et congregationem nostram ad illum, ne cito commoveamini animo, neque turbemini,"' etc.—*De Resurrect. Carnis*, c. 24.

But pray ye that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men, for all men have not faith.”’¹

It is also in the old Syriac (about 200), the old Latin (170), and the canon of Muratori (180). Marcion’s list (about 140) had it.

The epistle is well authenticated by external evidence. Such evidence, however, does not reach far enough back to make it conclusive, and may be overbalanced by internal considerations. In the present case, internal evidence has been set against historical tradition. Whether it be sufficient to negative the Pauline authorship of the letter, is subject to debate; testimony affects different minds in varying lights; and old beliefs are long-lived.

1. The prominent and peculiar paragraph in chapter ii. 1–12 contains unpauline ideas; and cannot be harmonised with the first letter which says that the second advent will be sudden and unexpected. The writer himself believes that he shall live to see it: ‘We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent,’ etc. (ep. i, iv. 15); a belief corrected in the second epistle, where the Thessalonian converts are told that the event is not imminent, because it will be preceded both by an apostasy and the revelation of the man of sin. Things are interposed between the readers and the second advent to allay their excited feelings and bring them back to the ordinary duties of life. The first epistle describes the time of the coming as uncertain, and without signs betokening its nearness. The second contains definite preluding signs. The first asserts the apostle’s belief that he should see it himself; the second removes that belief to a distance. Whence this change within a short time? The progress of events could not have caused it. Paul expressed the expecta-

¹ οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἡ γνώσις· προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων· οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις.—*Stromata*, v., vol. ii. p. 655, ed. Potter.

tion of witnessing the second advent in the first epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 51). Did he write in the first epistle to the Thessalonians that he should be alive at the coming of the Lord, correct that belief soon after in the second epistle, and revert to his original idea in addressing the Corinthians? The inconsistency cannot be explained by the fact that the writer's mind was subject to change, particularly on such a subject as the second advent; because this epistle, if authentic, was but little behind the former in point of time. Such sudden change cannot be attributed to him; especially as he afterwards enunciated his first opinion. We admit development in the mind of the apostle. But the subject of the second advent, though not of primary importance, was too momentous to be tossed about in thought from immediateness to remoteness of occurrence. Though nothing certain was known about it, its nearness supplied comfort to the spirits of Paul and the first Christians which could not have been easily relinquished. The expectation of surviving such an event must have been cherished by the ardent apostle of the Gentiles. The author also reminds his hearers that he had told them before of the preparatory phenomena; so that both his oral teaching and written words (ii. 1-12) clash with the statement of the first epistle.¹

The man of sin, and *the thing* or *person that checks*, are peculiar and original. Such hindrances to the realisation of the divine kingdom and the glorious manifestation of its sovereign are absent from Paul's writings. Had they entered into his doctrinal teachings, we should have certainly expected them in places where

¹ The way in which traditionalists meet such discrepancies is well exemplified by Dr. Salmon, who manipulates the present one thus: 'The one epistle presents our Lord's second coming as *possibly soon*, the other as *not immediate*;' adding, in the fashion usual with apologists, 'it is quite conceivable that the teaching of the same man should present these two aspects.' What about the inspiration of the apostle's statements, which Dr. Salmon introduces on occasions where it serves a purpose?

the second advent and its concomitants are spoken of; especially in 1 Cor. xv. 23, etc. Yet the apostle is silent about them there; nor are they touched upon, explained, or modified by any subsequent statement. Genuine Pauline eschatology ignores the precursors which are prominent in the second epistle to the Thessalonians and (it is said) had formed part of the apostle's oral teaching.

The interpretation of the man of sin or son of perdition as well as of the checking power is difficult. Probably the Roman empire is meant by the latter. Antichrist or the man of sin may be Nero; and he that checks, a Roman emperor, such as Vespasian. This view is favoured by a comparison of the passage with the Revelation. According to the Revelation, the beast, 'that was, and is, and goeth into *perdition*,' is Nero; in the Thessalonian epistle, the son of *perdition* represents the same adversary. The 'falling away' is paralleled by the worship of the dragon and the beast described in the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation; the self-exaltation and self-deification mentioned in the epistle find their type in the account of the beast who claims and accepts worship, in the same chapter. 'The coming after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders' is paralleled by the language of the Revelation in xix. 20; while the Lord who consumes the lawless one with the spirit of his mouth and the brightness of his coming, resembles him who slays with the two-edged sword proceeding out of his mouth, and whose eyes are like a flame of fire (Rev. i. 14-16). The correspondence of our epistle and the Revelation can hardly be mistaken. The man of sin, though depicted differently, is still the same. The description in the Revelation is scenic and dramatic; the author of the epistle combines the various traits, and gives his conception compact expression. If Nero be the man of sin, a reigning emperor the hindrance to his developed

power, the writer drew his picture of him about the end of 69, when the report was commonly believed that he was in retirement among the Parthians, collecting an army.

It has been thought that the passage is susceptible of an interpretation consistent with Pauline authorship. If Claudius be the withholder, as Hitzig ingeniously conjectures,¹ though Whitby had the idea before him, the apostle might have divined the future even in A.D. 52 or 53, and foreseen the iniquity hidden in Nero. The supposition, however, is scarcely admissible. The early part of Nero's life and reign gave no indications of his subsequent wickedness; and the apostle himself, writing to the Romans some years after, enjoins obedience to this very emperor (xiii. 1, etc.).

The difficulties of the paragraph cannot be removed by the most careful exegesis; the precise meaning of the language, *sitting in the temple of God, the apostasy, the gathering to him, the mystery of iniquity*, etc., can only be conjectured. How far the writer reflected the ideas of the time immediately after Nero's death, and how far he drew from his own imagination, is uncertain. It is probable that he had regard to the book of Daniel (xi. 36), whose fourth empire was referred to Rome, Antiochus typifying antichrist. The Jewish Christian picture given in the first gospel of the second advent's chief sign is different. In it false Christs occupy the place of the beast in Revelation. Here one person usurps the seat of God, lording it over the Christians. A political aspect of the divine kingdom did not comport with Paul's eschatological ideas. The sensuous traits would naturally decrease (comp. 1 Thess. with 1 Cor. xv.), and the closing scene of the world be dissociated from earthly empires, as if their power were an insignificant element.

We believe that the language of our epistle points

¹ Qui claudit = ὁ κατέχων.

to a *person* not a *thing*. He that exalts himself above all who are worshipped, who sits in the temple of God showing himself that he is God, cannot be converted into a Christian heresy like Gnosticism; nor can the phrase *to sit in the temple of God* be rightly explained 'enthroned in Christianity.' It is too strong to suit Gnostic heretics of Trajan's time and after, as Pfleiderer thinks it does.

The passage is unlike any that occurs in Paul's epistles. Though perhaps he might have written it; the improbability of its coming from him is great. The view taken of the kingdom of God is not the subjective one peculiar to the apostle, but is shaped after the Jewish theocracy, and realised in the manner of the Messianic reign which the Jews expected, instead of by an inward consciousness attaching itself to the death of Christ as the means of salvation. In 1 Cor. xv. the last enemy to be subdued is not antichrist but death; while the second advent is not delayed by intervening obstacles, but is considered just at hand. The Roman empire is not a restraining power keeping back antichrist and with him the coming of Christ, as in the present epistle.

The idea of a great enemy and decisive conflict with the people of God as the immediate precursor of Messiah's reign, was a Jewish one which appears in Ezekiel, where the terrible opponent of the new Jerusalem is Gog issuing from the land of Magog. It reappears in Daniel, where Antiochus Epiphanes is the representative of heathen enmity to the true religion. It emerges, as we have seen, in the New Testament, where a Roman power, or a Cæsar at its head, is the foe. The Rabbins called their antichrist Armillus, a word of uncertain origin. The notion was transmitted to the early Christians, who shaped it variously. Hence the man of sin was an ideal personage of the first century, embodying various conceptions according to the times. He was the concentrated essence of that enmity to Christianity

which appeared in different forms. The imagination of the early believers viewed the enmity as a person or as a thing; either outside Christianity, as Judaism or heathenism; or within the church, as false teachers whose Gnostic views misrepresented the true person of Christ. The antichristian power fluctuated between unity and plurality.

In his ignorance of the future the writer of the epistle is vague and mysterious. He interposes an apostasy or general falling away from the faith, between the full revelation of the man of sin and Christ's second advent; but how he expected such degeneracy to affect the time of that revelation, hastening or retarding it, is uncertain. The obscurity of the description arises in part from the imagination of one prying into the future. Even those who hold the Pauline authorship, as Lünemann does,¹ are forced to admit that the apostle erred not only with respect to the nearness of the final catastrophe, but the development of events preceding it. The picture, which is hardly worthy of Paul, consists of traits borrowed from Daniel, with ideas similar to those in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, which the writer has thrown together. The epistle was written mainly to introduce into the circle of Pauline ideas an apocalyptic eschatology, and to discourage certain manifestations which threatened to injure practical piety. That the apostle himself had no conception of an antichrist checked by the Roman empire or embodied in Nero is plain from the thirteenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans.

No being of gigantic intellect is prophetically described. No system, Gnosticism, Judaism, Romanism, Protestantism, is shadowed forth. Preterist and futurist expounders of prophecy are equally mistaken in seeking the fulfilment of the passage in history, because it is not

¹ See *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über die Briefe an die Thessalonicher*, p. 229, dritte Auflage.

prophetic but apocalyptic, expressing notions on a subject that concerns neither faith nor duty.

It is impossible to escape the idea that the same religious consciousness is at the basis of this eschatological passage in our epistle, and of the Apocalypse. Antichrist is a heathen power in both; and imperial Rome fills the minds of the writers; not a spiritual power or Antinomian libertine Gnosis similar to the indications in the epistles of Jude, 2 Peter, John, and elsewhere, as Pfleiderer supposes.¹

2. The idea of recompense in the kingdom of God for sufferings endured by the Thessalonians is scarcely Pauline. The apostle always teaches that future blessedness is the reward of free grace, irrespective of human desert or agency; whereas the notion of worthiness is introduced in ch. i. 4-7. The construction of the passage is somewhat difficult because the clauses are not logically connected; but thus much is clear, that recompense is attached to the conduct and endurance of the readers, in an unpauline way.

Again, everlasting destruction is said to be the doom not only of the Gentiles who know not God, but of the Jews who obey not the gospel (i. 8, 9). Yet the epistle to the Romans expresses a hope that the mass of the Jews will be saved. The final happiness of all Israel cheers the heart of their kinsman (xi. 25, 26). In i. 11, Christian *calling* coincides with the recompense bestowed by God on His people in the day when Christ shall be revealed, and is presented as the goal of life. It is a thing reached or attained at last; the consummation of spiritual life. The apostle, on the contrary, uniformly regards it as an initiatory step or introduction into the church of Christ. Instead of making it a goal, he speaks of it as the beginning of true life in God's kingdom. When vocation is referred to its author, it belongs to the Divine purpose; when viewed as an

¹ *Das Urchristenthum*, p. 357.

element of individual life on earth, it is an act of initiation into all Christian privileges. Chap. ii. 14 is Pauline; i. 11 is not.

3. The number of peculiar phrases and words occurring but once in the epistle, strengthens the suspicion of its Pauline origin. In this respect it presents a contrast to the first. Paul writes simply *we give thanks*; here the corresponding phrase is, *we are bound to give thanks*, to which is added, *as it is meet* (comp. 1 Thess. 1, 2, with 2 Thess. i. 3). *Election to salvation* is expressed by a different verb from that which Paul uses (ii. 13).¹ *To receive the love of the truth*,² occurs instead of *to receive the word* (ii. 10, comp. 1 Thess. i. 6, ii. 13). *The work of faith* (i. 11)³ is unpauline. Artificial phrases are, *to be glorified in his saints*, *to be admired in all them that believe*, *our testimony among you was believed* (i. 10),⁴ *to fulfil all the good pleasure of goodness* (i. 11),⁵ *in faith of the truth* (ii. 13).⁶ *And* is prefixed to *for this reason*, contrary to Paul's manner (ii. 11).⁷

4. The salutation at the close, added by the apostle's hand as a token that the letter is authentic, looks as if a later writer wished to ward off objection and attest its Pauline origin. When the apostle appended a salutation, he did it as a mark of his love, not for authentication. The expression *in every epistle* increases the difficulty of accepting the Pauline authorship; for the apostle had written but one, the first to the Thessalonians. It may be, however, that some are lost. It may be also, that forged ones had been circulated in Thessalonica; and that the statement refers to them as if the writer would attest all that he should compose henceforward, with his own signature. Many think that the

¹ εἶλατο not ἐκλέγεσθαι.

² τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας δεξάσθαι.

³ ἔργον πίστεως.

⁴ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, θαυμασθῆναι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

⁵ πληροῦν πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης.

⁶ πιστεῖ ἀληθείας.

⁷ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο.

phrase 'nor by letter as from us' (ii. 2) alludes to a supposititious epistle which the Thessalonians had received. But it rather refers to a Pauline writing, not to the present first, but to one which has only been preserved in such parts of the present second as were retained by him who rewrote and altered it. The preceding phrase 'by word' (Paul's oral instruction) makes it probable that 'the letter as proceeding from us' was an authentic one which the Thessalonians misunderstood.

One thing appears, viz. that this authentication by Paul himself implies a time when supposititious epistles were in circulation, and tokens of authenticity were looked for—a time posterior to the commencement of the apostle's letter-writing activity.

5. Ideas are often borrowed or repeated from the first epistle. This might be attributed to Paul himself, in a measure; but scarcely so far or in such a way as is now done. The first two verses are verbally the same with parts of the preceding epistle. *Faith* and *love*, for which thanks are given to God, reappear in the same context but are intensified: 'your faith *groweth exceedingly*,' and 'love *aboundeth*' (i. 3). 2 Thess. ii. 13 repeats what had been said at i. 3, with the application of the words to the readers, 'brethren beloved of the Lord,' which Paul never uses. 2 Thess. iii. 8 repeats 1 Thess. ii. 9; and iii. 10, 12, is an expansion of 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12. A considerable part of our epistle recalls the first, by enlarging, modifying, and repeating its statements.

Dependence on other Pauline epistles is observable. Thus iii. 14 follows 1 Cor. v. 9, 11, the peculiar phraseology being the same. Compare also 1 Cor. iv. 14. *The Lord of peace* (iii. 16), is taken from 1 Cor. xiv. 33; 2 Cor. xiii. 11, or probably from 1 Thess. v. 23. In like manner, 2 Thess. ii. 2 is from Galat. i. 6; iii. 4 from Galat. v. 10; and iii. 13 from Galat. vi. 9.

The particulars just enumerated are unfavourable to the authenticity of the letter, though they have been met by apologetic arguments. It cannot be denied that genuine Pauline ideas as well as expressions are found in it. If it was not written by the apostle himself, it proceeded from a disciple. Perhaps the greater part of the third chapter, with ii. 13–17, came from Paul, for the admonitions bear the impress of his mind. We may suppose that the second epistle was retouched, and enlarged with new matter, especially with ch. ii. 1–12, by a Pauline Christian. If this be so, it may be called authentic, *with modifications*. The purely Pauline basis has been wrought over, changed, and extended, the immediate occasion of which lay in another politico-religious atmosphere than that which gave rise to the first. The figure of antichrist embodied in a person had emerged. Jerusalem was soon to be destroyed, its temple profaned by heathenism. The personal advent of Christ, which the Thessalonians enthusiastically expected, had spoiled their lives by its delay, leading to neglect of daily duties. Hence the writer adapts the letter to the new circumstances, telling the Thessalonians that the day of the Lord is not imminent, and that they should go about their proper work with patience. He exhorts them to wait, and to endure their sufferings with faith, for the end is not yet. The date is toward the end of A.D. 69, not after Trajan.

The second epistle has long been objected to on internal grounds. Schmidt led the way, and was followed by Kern,¹ whose arguments are still valid. Baur sharpened and enlarged them.² Hilgenfeld,³ P. W. Schmidt,⁴ Holtzmann,⁵ Lipsius,⁶ Weisse,⁷ Van Manen,⁸

¹ In the *Tübingen Zeitschrift* for 1839, Heft ii.

² *Paulus der Apostel*, u. s. w., p. 480, etc.

³ *Zeitschrift*, vol. v. p. 225, etc.

⁴ *Protestanten Bibel*, p. 821, etc.

⁵ In Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. v. p. 501, etc.

⁶ *Studien und Kritiken* for 1854, p. 905, etc.

⁷ *Philosophische Dogmatik*, vol. i. p. 146.

⁸ *De Echtheid van Paulus brieven aan de Thessalonicensen*, 1865.

Hausrath,¹ and Pfleiderer² assent. Noack³ rejects both epistles, as do Van der Vries,⁴ Volkmar,⁵ Holsten,⁶ and Steck.⁷ But the second has had its defenders, Reiche, Hofmann, Lünemann, Reuss, Jowett, and others.⁸

COMPARISON OF THE THESSALONIAN EPISTLES WITH THE ACTS.

It is not easy to bring the epistles into exact correspondence with the Acts of the Apostles, neither is it important. The history of the latter may be supplemented and corrected by the notices of the former.

1. The Thessalonian Christians are represented as Gentiles who had turned from idolatry. The church was therefore of heathen origin. In the Acts xvii. 4, we read that some of the Jews believed, and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few, language implying that Jewish proselytes and Jews formed the body of the church, even if the women were Gentiles, which we do not know. This discrepancy can only be removed by supposing the narrative in the Acts inexact. The difficulty is obviated by the reading in the Acts which inserts *and* before *Greeks* ('both of the devout *and* of the Greeks a great multitude'), but it is feebly supported, though Lachmann adopts it. MSS. A. and D. cannot outweigh B. and \aleph .

¹ *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. ii. p. 600.

² *Paulinismus*, vol. i. p. 29, English translation.

³ *Ursprung des Christenthums*, vol. ii. p. 313, etc.

⁴ *De beiden brieven aan de Thessalonicensen*, 1865.

⁵ *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt*, p. 114, etc.

⁶ *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1875, 1876, 1877.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1883.

⁸ Canon Farrar says he has 'carefully studied' the arguments of Baur, Kern, Van der Vaier, De Wette, Volkmar, Zeller, and the Tübingen school generally, which are 'so slight as to be scarcely deserving of serious refutation.' But De Wette maintained the authenticity of both epistles in all editions of his Introduction to the New Testament after the first and second. Van der Vaier is a Dutchman framed out of the Canon's imagination.

2. The persecutors of the Thessalonians were their fellow-countrymen, i.e. Gentiles (1 ep. ii. 14), whereas in the Acts Jews were the active adversaries. The discrepancy cannot be removed or lessened by assuming that 'fellow-countrymen' might include many Hellenist Jews. It can only and properly mean pagans. Paley's solution, that though the opposition made to the gospel originated in the enmity of the Jews, the Gentiles carried it out, is not satisfactory though approved by De Wette.

3. The notices of Silas and Timothy in the Acts and the epistles are discordant.

In the Acts, Paul and Silas are together at Thessalonica, and were sent away by night to Berea. No mention is made there of Timothy. From Berea the apostle went to Athens; but Timothy and Silas remained. Those who conducted him to Athens carried back orders that the two companions should join him there. Nothing is said, however, about their going thither; nor do they reappear with the apostle till he is at Corinth, to which place they came from Macedonia (Acts xviii. 5).

The epistles inform us that Timothy and Silas were with Paul when he wrote (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1). The first intimates that Paul thought it best to be left alone at Athens, and sent Timothy to Thessalonica. The *we* before 'thought it good' means himself alone, not himself and Silas. Timothy returned with good news.

It is not easy to harmonise these accounts except by assumptions. Thus it has been thought that Timothy, who had been left behind at Thessalonica, followed Paul and Silas to Berea, and that he was sent back thence with the first letter. Paul went on to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy at Berea; but though both had orders to follow him speedily to Athens, they were countermanded. The Acts do not favour the idea of Timothy's following the apostle to Athens; for it is

said that he and Silas were merely *expected* there, not that they actually came; but the words of the first epistle at the beginning of the third chapter imply that Timothy when at Athens was sent back to Thessalonica.

The order of the epistles need not be discussed if the authenticity of the second be abandoned; for it concerns those only who hold both to be Pauline. Grotius thought that the second or shorter was written first; and others have entertained the same opinion. The arguments in favour of it are of some weight, as stated by Ewald and Baur. Those who maintain the full authenticity of the second, have difficulty in doing so and conserving the traditional order at the same time.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

A SERIES of epistles, distinct from Paul's, are called *catholic*. They form a peculiar collection, and are seven in number, the alleged writings of James, Peter, John, and Jude. The origin of the appellation *catholic* is not clear.

An examination of patristic testimony respecting it leads to the following results:—

1. The term *catholic* meant no more at first than *intended for a wide circle of readers*, i.e. encyclical. Its application to New Testament writings was early made by Clement of Alexandria, who speaks of the epistle of the apostles to the church at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 22–29) as a *catholic epistle*.¹ Origen speaks of the epistle of Barnabas as a *catholic epistle*.² He also refers to Peter's *catholic epistle*, and repeatedly applies the same epithet to the first epistle of John. The epistle of Jude he designates in the same way, but in passages where the Latin translation alone exists. Dionysius of Alexandria applies the same word to John's first epistle.³ Apollonius relates of a Montanist called Themison, that he composed a *catholic epistle* in imitation of the apostle (probably John).⁴

2. It was probably in the last half of the third century that the epistles of Jude and James, the second of Peter, with the second and third of John, were added to the other two, forming with them one collection

¹ *Stromata*, iv. 15, p. 606, ed. Potter.

³ Ap. Euseb. vii. 25.

² *Contra Celsum*, i. 63.

⁴ Ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18.

called *catholic*, because they were publicly read in the catholic Christian church. Eusebius does not use *catholic* as synonymous with *canonical* or *apostolic*, any more than his predecessors.¹

After the time of Eusebius, when the seven were incorporated into the canon and put by the side of the Pauline collection, the appellation was gradually identified with *canonical* or *apostolic*, sooner in the Latin church than the Greek. Junilius speaks of the seven as canonical, meaning *apostolic*; ² and Cassiodorus follows him.³ Thus the error became rooted in the Latin church that the catholic epistles are canonical or apostolic. Some think that they find a trace of *catholic* becoming equivalent to *canonical* in the Muratorian fragment, but the text is too uncertain to warrant that conclusion.⁴

In the majority of ancient MSS. the catholic epistles follow the Acts of the Apostles and precede those of Paul. Lachmann and Tischendorf arranged them so in their editions of the Greek Testament. The Sinaitic MS. has them immediately before the Revelation, which is the usual position. The first epistles of John and Peter obtained general recognition sooner than the rest. Papias had already received them. The letters of James and Jude, which were considered unapostolic at first and therefore uncanonical, were afterwards put with the others; while the second and third of John formed an appendix to the rest. When the second of Peter was adopted, it could only be placed after the first, though its alleged authorship was doubted much longer than that of any of the seven, and has always been suspicious.

¹ *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 3.

² *De Partibus Legis Divinæ*, i. 6.

³ *De Institutione Divinarum Scripturarum*, c. 8.

⁴ 'Epistola sane Judæ et superscriptio Johannis duas in catholica habentur.' To *catholica*, *ecclesia* may be supplied. Bunsen corrects it into *catholicis*.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

THE JAMESES.

THREE PERSONS bearing the name of James are mentioned in the New Testament.

First. James the son of Zebedee and brother of John, who was beheaded by Herod Agrippa as related in the Acts, about A.D. 44. He is commonly styled *the greater or elder*.

Secondly. James the son of Alpheus is mentioned (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). Mark calls his mother's name Mary (xv. 40), which Mary is said to be the wife of Cleophas in John xix. 25. Cleophas and Alpheus are probably identical; the former a Hebraising, the latter a Greek form of the same word. This James is usually styled *the less*, either because he was younger than the other, or less in stature.

Thirdly. Another James is spoken of as *the Lord's brother* (Gal. i. 19; Josephus's Antiqq. xx. ch. ix. 1). The same is meant in 1 Cor. xv. 7.

Some identify the last two, arguing that a narrative in the Gospel according to the Hebrews as quoted by Jerome, represents James the Just, the Lord's brother, as present at the breaking of bread, after the resurrection; that the superscription of the old apocryphal Gospel of James assumes the same view; that Papias, Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodoret held their identity; that only two of the name

appear in the Acts; that the James who occupies a prominent place in Jerusalem after the death of Zebedee's son, is not distinguished from the son of Alpheus; that he is not specified as one of the Lord's brethren in Acts i. 14 but on the contrary is reckoned among the apostles in Gal. i. 19, according to the most natural explanation of the passage. These and other considerations which have been urged, are not conclusive. They are weakened by the fact, that the identification of the two Jameses is usually accompanied by the belief that James was son of Mary, sister of Mary the mother of Jesus and wife of Cleophas, which is founded on John xix. 25, where Mary wife of Cleophas is apparently called a sister of the Virgin Mary. Perhaps, however, the construction does not require this. If four females instead of three are spoken of in the passage, the difficulty of two sisters having the same name is removed; and the sister of Jesus's mother is Salome mother of Zebedee's children. In any case the Greek word translated *brother* should not be taken for *cousin* or *relative* (Gal. i. 19), as it is by those who identify James the Lord's brother with the son of Alpheus.

Notwithstanding all that is urged by Lange¹ in favour of the two Jameses being identical, it is more probable that they were different persons. The *earliest* ecclesiastical writers separated them, commencing with Hegesippus, a native of Palestine. Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, the Apostolic Constitutions, the Clementines, and the majority of the fathers, held them to be different. In no catalogue of the apostles does James the son of Alpheus appear as the Lord's brother. It is true that we read in Gal. i. 19, 'other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother,' words which *appear* to put James the Lord's brother among the apostles and so to identify him with the son of Alpheus; but this interpretation is not necessary, for the meaning may be,

¹ In Herzog's *Encyklopädie*.

‘another of the apostles I did not see, except that, in addition to Peter, I saw James.’¹ This version is possible, as Winer, Fritzsche, and others admit.

Adopting, as we do, the diversity of the two Jameses in question, the Lord’s brother was either full brother or half-brother to Jesus, for—

(a) Such is the primary and natural signification of the Greek word rendered *brother*, corroborated by its usage in Josephus. No example of its extended application to *cousin* or *relative* can be found in the New Testament. Appeal has been made to Matt. i. 11, where the term is said to mean *uncle*; but that is doubtful. Nor can the fathers be quoted for examples of the wider sense, since it is very questionable whether the passages in Eusebius,² to which Kern and others refer, and one from Hegesippus in the same historian,³ prove the extended use of the term. A wide sense like that of the corresponding Hebrew word is possible, but it is without precedent in the New Testament.

(b) The *brethren* of Jesus appear in close connection with his mother (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; John ii. 12), so that it is natural to consider them her sons.

(c) These brothers did not believe on him (John vii. 5), at a time when James son of Alpheus had been chosen an apostle.

(d) In Acts i. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5, the *brethren* are distinguished from the apostles.

We believe, therefore, that the brethren of the Lord, James, Joses (Joseph), Simon, Judas, were Jesus’s brothers, and that none of them was in the list of apostles. As they were not sons of Alpheus, James the Lord’s brother is a different person from James son of Alpheus. In what sense were the four, brothers of Jesus? The account given by Epiphanius and Theophylact is, that Cleophas and Joseph were brothers. The

¹ *ἐὶ μὴ* qualifies the whole sentence and not merely the word ἀποστόλων.

² *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 4; iv. 5.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 22.

former dying without issue, Joseph married his brother's widow and had children, agreeably to the Levitical law. James, the first-born, was hence called the son of Cleophas. This is improbable. Many have thought that the four were Joseph's sons by a former wife, an opinion drawn from apocryphal gospels, according to Jerome. It is most likely that the four brethren of Jesus were born after him, being the sons of Joseph and Mary. This agrees with the epithet *first-born* applied to Jesus in Luke ii. 7. If he was the first-born, Mary had other children.

It has been objected, that our Lord, before expiring on the cross, committed his mother to the care of John the son of Zebedee. Had James been her son, or even her stepson, it is alleged that Jesus would not have transferred the charge of his mother to one who did not sustain that relation. This argument derives its value from the implied assumption that the brethren had become believers at the time; if they continued to reject his Messiahship, it is not probable that she would have been entrusted to the care of any of them. Besides, the statement is hardly historical.

There are various allusions to James the Lord's brother in the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles (xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18, etc.; Gal. i. 19; ii. 9, 12; 1 Cor. xv. 7). He occupied a high official station in the church of Jerusalem, being bishop there according to tradition. Whether his influence was due to age, personal character or official position, it is impossible to determine. After the death of Festus the procurator, he suffered martyrdom in a tumult at the temple, as the story is told by Josephus and Eusebius. The exact circumstances of his death cannot be ascertained, though Eusebius occupies with them a large part of one chapter in his history, quoting Hegesippus, Clement, and Josephus; and his narrative has been suspected of falsification by Christian hands, perhaps without reason. He-

gesippus's has fabulous materials, and does not agree well with Josephus's as to the time of James's martyrdom; though Hilgenfeld tries to make them concordant. One thing is well attested, viz. that James was stoned by the Jews in A.D. 62, according to Josephus, who places his death in the interval between the decease of the procurator Porcius Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus. Hegesippus's account as given by Eusebius is repeated by Jerome, Epiphanius, and Abdias. Augustine concurs. James was styled the *just* for his eminent virtue and ascetic life.

Mistakes were made at an early period about James the Lord's brother. He was confounded with James the Greater by Irenæus; and with James the Less by Clement of Alexandria. But the Apostolic Constitutions separate him from the apostles. In modern times, Wieseler¹ has laboured to show that James the son of Alpheus not James the Lord's brother, was the head of the Jerusalem church. It is thought that *an apostle* should occupy a prominent position in ecclesiastical matters, instead of being ignored in the Acts. Tradition is against this opinion. If an apostle be wanted for the head of the church at Jerusalem, James the Less and James the Lord's brother should be identified. Those who separate them, as Wieseler does, and still make the former the prominent one in the Acts, are obliged to distinguish the James of Gal. i. 19 from him of Gal. ii. 9-12.² We believe that *three* Jameses are spoken of in the New Testament; not two, as those who identify the younger apostle with the Lord's brother suppose. And it is improbable that the persons called Jesus's *brethren* were so from Joseph's *first* marriage so that Mary was not their mother.³

Various supposititious productions bear the name of

¹ In the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1842.

² See Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 544.

³ Comp. Holtzmann in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1880, p. 198, etc.

James (the Lord's brother), such as the *Protevangelium Jacobi*; the *Diamartyria* appended to the first introductory letter in the Clementine Homilies; and the *Anabathmoi*. These are Ebionite productions.

AUTHORSHIP.

James the Elder died too early to allow of the supposition that he wrote the epistle. Yet the subscription of the old Latin version published by Martianay (ff) assigns it to him. The subscriptions of the Peshito in the editions of Widmanstad, Tremellius, and Trost, probably ascribe it to James the Less, though they have no more than the *apostle* James. It must either have been written by, or in the name of James the Lord's brother, or James son of Alpheus. Most of the early fathers attribute it to the former; but internal evidence must decide.

1. The acquaintance which the epistle shows with Paul's epistles, especially those to the Romans and Galatians; above all its antagonism to the doctrine of justification by faith, indicate a somewhat late period.

2. The style of writing is too good for James, being pure, elevated, poetical, betraying the influence of Grecian culture. We do not deny that he knew Greek, though he lived constantly at Jerusalem; indeed a passage in Hegesippus, where it is related that the Jews wished James to address the people at the passover, 'because all the tribes have come together, on account of the passover, with the Gentiles also,' implies his acquaintance with that language.¹ But all we know of him, makes it improbable that he could write *such* Greek as that of the epistle. The diction is remarkable for its vivid colouring, its felicitous selection of terms, its rhetorical character; and could scarcely proceed from a Jewish Christian like James, who, presiding over the

¹ Ap. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23.

mother church at Jerusalem, thought and spoke in Aramæan. The good Greek of the epistle is strange, and cannot be explained by the assumption that James had grown up in a district entirely Grecised like Galilee. Its figurative style tells against him ; although an abrupt sententiousness is not wanting.

3. As far as we know the character of James from the New Testament and Hegesippus, it is not in harmony with the epistle. He was a narrow, ascetic Jewish Christian who would not have omitted allusion to circumcision and the ceremonial law. Herder indeed tries to show an agreement with the disposition and character of the Lord's brother ; but the whole letter is against such authorship.

4. The Jewish Christian standpoint of the writer is apparent. He calls Abraham 'our father,' and appeals to the word of truth as the royal *law*, and the perfect *law of liberty*. He uses the word *synagogue* (ii. 2) for a Christian *church* ; and Epiphanius tells us that the Ebionites did the same. The moral deterioration of Christians is referred in part to the licence of Pauline doctrine which set them free from the law ; so that the author asserts against it justification by works. Hilgenfeld has rightly observed, that the legal Christianity advocated by James is coloured with Essene morality. The sentiments respecting swearing, riches, and trade coincide with those of the Essenes. The writer emphasises mercy, exhorts his readers to be swift to hear, slow to speak, and slow to wrath—admonitions which agree with Josephus's description of the sect. An Orphic colouring which Hilgenfeld professes to see also, appealing to the admonition against much speaking and the evil produced by the tongue, to the word of truth (i. 18), the engrafted word (i. 21), and especially to the description of the tongue in iii. 6, is precarious. The writer's Ebionite point of view accounts for the fact that the essential doctrines of Christianity,

such as atonement by the death of Christ, his resurrection, the influence of the Holy Spirit, etc., are absent. It has no christology, though Pfeiffer and Huther are anxious to find one in i. 1; neither are distinctive Christian doctrines implied in iv. 5, and v. 14, as the latter supposes. Had James written it, we should expect some mention of Christ's resurrection. But no distinctive Christian doctrine appears, not even the fact that Jesus proved himself the Messiah by his death and resurrection.

5. If the letter has respect to the doctrine taught by Paul, it can scarcely be James's. It is true that the bishop of Jerusalem was put to death by the Pharisees before Judaism received its death-blow in the destruction of the city; but the tendency of the epistle points to a time when the Pauline and Judaizing parties had been brought near one another.

6. The letter is professedly addressed to all Jewish Christians out of Palestine. But were there churches composed of such members? All were made up of Jewish and Gentile believers; the larger proportion being Gentiles. Wiesinger therefore may well ask, Where shall we look for the Jewish Christians out of Palestine in order to satisfy the requirements of the epistle? a question not answered by a reference to Acts ii. 5-11; xi. 19, etc., because the passages are far from implying the extensive establishment of Jewish Christian churches immediately after Pentecost, even if the accounts were literally exact. The earliest history, so far from containing a clear trace of such churches widely scattered through the lands, disproves their multiplication. Does not another writer than James betray himself here, in addressing Jewish Christians alone, whereas they were so incorporated with Gentile ones in the churches that an epistle could not find them alone? De Wette, however, understands 'the twelve tribes scattered abroad,' to mean all Christians

out of Palestine; and thus removes the incongruity. And how did James become acquainted with the state and temptations of the Jewish Christians scattered through many lands and incorporated with many Gentile churches? Were they in the habit of visiting Jerusalem to keep the feasts so that he could learn in that way? Those in Syria, Cilicia, and the other parts adjacent may have gone up to the metropolis; but this does not apply to the majority scattered through more distant lands. The bishop of the Jerusalem church could have got little definite information from the strangers visiting his city, comparatively few as they were. In any case, the writer does not convey the impression that his knowledge of their condition was minute or specific, for his language is general, such as a later author writing in his name would employ; and his relation to them is never alluded to. The link between them, as far as the epistle shows, is a loose one.

These observations are unfavourable to the composition of the letter by James the Just; and they disagree equally with the authorship of James the Less. The writer does not style himself the *Lord's brother*; neither does he call himself an apostle. Probably the Judaised Christianity of the epistle should not be carried into the second century and the circle of the Clementine Homilies. That there are parallels between these homilies and our epistle, cannot be denied.¹ The origin and object of the apocryphal production lead to points of resemblance. But there are marked differences also. Ingenious therefore as Schwegeler's reasoning is,² it does not prove that the epistle was written in James's name so late as the second century. The production is a post-pauline one, proceeding from a Jewish Christian or Ebionite.

¹ A collection of them is given by Kern, *Der Brief Jacobi*, u. s. w., p. 56, *et seq.*

² Schwegeler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, vol. i. p. 13, *et seq.*

PERSONS TO WHOM IT WAS ADDRESSED.

According to i. 1, the letter is directed to 'the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad,' i.e. to all the Jews out of Palestine who had embraced Christianity, namely, to the spiritual Israel in their dispersion. The writer did not intend to address unbelieving Jews or unconverted as well as converted ones, but simply converts. This appears at the commencement, where the words, 'the trying of your faith worketh patience,' imply believers. So also, ii. 1, 'have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.' The seventh verse of the 2nd chapter points to the same conclusion: 'Do they not blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?' i.e. the name of Christ.

It is inconclusive to argue that the letter was intended for the unconverted as well as the converted Jews, because there is only a general salutation at the beginning and no Christian benediction at the end. Nor is it correct to interpret the wars and fightings (iv. 1-10) of the mutinies of the Jews, especially the Zealots. Neither was the 3rd chapter intended for Jews, as well as Jewish Christians.

We cannot extend the sense of the expression 'the twelve tribes' so far as to make it equivalent to the 'Israel of God' in Gal. vi. 16, i.e. to all Christians Jewish and Gentile, though the true Israel of God embrace them, because the use of the phrase *twelve tribes* is inexplicable if the writer intended all believers without distinction. The only way of giving it a figurative sense is by supposing it to be used as a literary fiction; for the wide meaning assumed by De Wette and others is unnatural. Whatever V. Soden may say,¹ the catholicity imposed on the address 'the twelve

¹ *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1884, p. 177, etc.

tribes scattered abroad' is artificial. The author makes no allusion to Gentile converts, nor to the relation between Jew and Gentile incorporated into one spiritual body.

In answer to the questions, Were Jewish Christians out of Palestine numerous, at the time when the epistle was written? in what country or countries were they? were they scattered through many lands, or confined to a comparatively limited district? no specific information can be given. There is no authority for limiting the circle of readers, as some have done, to Syria, Cilicia, and the adjacent parts. It is also unwarrantable to include among them Jewish Christians in the Palestinian churches out of Jerusalem, as Huther is inclined to do. We abide by the view that the letter was professedly written for the benefit of all Jews out of Palestine who had embraced Christianity.

PLACE AND TIME OF WRITING.

Hug¹ has attempted to deduce the place of writing from certain internal marks, which, in his opinion, clearly point to Palestine. The author's native land was not far from the sea (i. 6; iii. 4), and was blessed with valuable productions, such as figs, oil, and wine (iii. 12). It was exposed to drought; and productions were often scarce for want of rain (v. 17, 18). Sudden devastations of the vegetable kingdom were occasioned by a fiery wind (i. 11). The early and latter rains were familiar (v. 7). As these phenomena existed in many oriental countries, they do not necessarily point to Palestine. The locality of the author was probably Syria, whence complaints respecting practical abuses in the churches may have been carried to the mother church at Jerusalem, so that the authority of James is invoked. But the author does not personate James well; since the

¹ Introduction translated by Fosdick, p. 587.

inscription is unsuitable to the constitution of the communities addressed. There is great difficulty in ascertaining the *time* of writing, as is evident from the fact that some critics fix it so early as A.D. 44, others so late as the second century; and dates vary between these extremes. The following particulars bear upon this point.

1. In ii. 7 there is an allusion to the name *Christian*. The disciples were called Christians for the first time at Antioch. This makes the date later than Acts xi. 26, or A.D. 44.

2. In ii. 2-4, distinctions of places or seats in Christian churches, an ambitious love of pre-eminence in the meetings for worship, an unworthy partiality for the rich and a neglect of the poor, are inconsistent with an early period. Such outward arrangements and conveniences in places of worship imply a state of organisation which did not exist for a considerable time after churches were formed; an argument not disproved by the erroneous assumption that the places of meeting for Jewish Christians were then synagogues. The Greek word translated *assembly* (ii. 2) does not mean *the place* of meeting, but the congregation in the place. Nor is it like the freshness and zeal of recent conversion, that rich members should covet outward respect in regard to seats in congregations; or that the poor should be treated with marked disfavour. Piety had greatly degenerated where this spirit appeared. Amid the worldly views and arrangements which prevailed in these Christian assemblies, early Christian love had grown cold. We must therefore assume a time sufficient to allow of the existence of conveniences in buildings used for worship, of seats comfortable and otherwise, of a spirit of partiality and ambitious selfishness on the part of the rich. Though human nature is prone to deteriorate, the Jewish converts could scarcely have fallen so far from their first love soon after their adoption of Christianity.

Years would be required for such declension. Should it be said that the deterioration is accounted for by the time between Peter's sermon at Pentecost and the date of the epistle, the plea is insufficient, because *all* the Jewish Christians out of Palestine are addressed; and a declension so universal is improbable. Had one or more churches degenerated, the assumption might be admitted; but the fact of all being in the same circumstances is against the deterioration implied.

In these remarks we assume that the Jewish term *synagogue* does not necessarily show an early period, because it may only imply the standpoint of the writer thrown back into the time of James. Nothing can be inferred from it respecting Jewish Christians still meeting with their unbelieving brethren in the old synagogues. We have also assumed, that the *rich* and *poor* who are mentioned are Christians.

3. The author's argument about faith alone without works is inconsistent with an early date. In the time of Christ, a Pharisaic confidence in the law, apart from a holy life, was the besetting sin of the Jews. Had this given way when the epistle was composed? Either the controversy referred to in the 15th chapter of the Acts had not arisen; or it had been settled. If it had not arisen, is it likely that confidence in the law, to the neglect of a pure life, had ceased? We believe not, else it must be assumed that such confidence was succeeded by reliance on exclusive purity of faith which the Jews carried over into Christianity; an assumption totally baseless, because Paul afterwards combats reliance on the law. Thus a late date alone is correct, one posterior to James himself. As the epistle contains no trace of a scrupulous observance of the Mosaic law on the part of the readers, the controversy respecting the continued obligation of the law, which Paul had carried to a successful issue, had produced its effect. To assert that it had not begun, or that the writer and his readers

were agreed about the non-observance of the law, is to oppose all testimony we have respecting James, who was an observer of the law moral and ceremonial, to the end of life.

4. If the author has borrowed Pauline ideas and words, we have so far the evidence of a late date. The phrase *transgressor of the law*¹ is both in Rom. ii. 25, 27, and James ii. 11; the single term *transgressor* being used absolutely in Gal. ii. 18 and James ii. 9; *to fulfil the law*² occurs alike in Rom. ii. 27 and James ii. 8; 'tribulation *worketh patience*, and *patience experience*,' etc., Romans v. 3, 4, compare with 'the *trying* of your faith *worketh patience*,' etc. James i. 3;³ 'I see another law in my *members warring against* the law of my mind,' Romans vii. 23, compare with 'your lusts *that war* in your *members*,' James iv. 1;⁴ *doer of the law*, *hearer of the law*,⁵ are common to Rom. ii. 13 and James i. 22, etc.; *fruit of righteousness*⁶ is found in Phil. i. 11 and James iii. 18; *be not deceived*⁷ is in 1 Cor. vi. 9; xv. 33; Gal. vi. 7; and James i. 16; *but some one will say*⁸ is common to 1 Cor. xv. 35 and James ii. 18; the word rendered *entire*⁹ is in 1 Thess. v. 23; the term *members*¹⁰ in James iii. 6; iv. 1, is frequent in Paul's epistles to the Romans and Corinthians; the verb translated *deceiving*¹¹ in James i. 22 appears in Coloss. ii. 4; and the word of God is termed the *perfect law of liberty* (James i. 25), a phrase apparently derived from Paul's liberal ideas. The apostle of the Gentiles was the first to bring the idea of law over into the department of Christianity in connection with freedom of conscience; and James applies it to the word of God because the transference had been made. It is true that

¹ παραβάτης νόμου.

² νόμον τελεῖν.

³ ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται : δοκίμιον, δοκιμή.

⁴ ἐν τοῖς μελεσί, ἀντιστρατευόμενον, στρατενομένων.

⁵ ποιητὴς τοῦ νόμου, ἀκροατὴς τοῦ νόμου.

⁶ καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης.

⁷ μὴ πλανᾶσθε.

⁸ ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις.

⁹ ὁλόκληρος.

¹⁰ μέλη.

¹¹ παρalogίζεσθαι.

Paul has always a polemic reference to the Mosaic law when he speaks of individual freedom, while such reference does not appear in James ; but if the apostle of the Gentiles had already asserted that liberty with triumphant success, so that it could be considered an acknowledged fact, James had no need to look at the Mosaic law polemically where he speaks of the 'perfect law of liberty;' the phrase implies a recognition of freedom from that law which every Christian enjoyed, and consequently the priority of the Pauline ministry and writings which were the means of procuring that recognition. The attempt of Brückner¹ to show that the controversy between the claims of law and gospel had not arisen when the author wrote about the freedom of the Christian's law, is unsuccessful; as is his whole endeavour to obliterate all marks of the present letter's dependence on Pauline conceptions. The impression which the coincidences we have given make on an unbiassed mind, leads to the rejection of their independent origin.

5. The doctrine of justification by faith alone is presupposed and denied by James. Could he do so without having reference to Paul's exposition of it? We suppose not, because the apostle of the Gentiles was the first to bring out its importance, and hold it up as the essence of the gospel. It is improbable that the writer of our epistle should have spoken of justification as he does, unless the topic had been discussed in Christian churches. Not only did the expressions *to be justified by faith, to be justified by works, justification by faith, justification by works*, originate with Paul, but he evolved the idea of justification by faith, which did not enter into the gospel of the primitive apostles. In other words, the doctrine was not the common property of Christianity from the day of Pentecost, or one which

¹ In De Wette's *Handbuch*, iii. 1, p. 200, *et seq.*

Peter might have taught had he been thrown into circumstances where its express assertion was necessary.

It is unnecessary to show that the doctrine of justification by faith alone which Paul preached, and that of justification by works which James sets forth, are irreconcilable. The single statement, 'Ye see how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only,' ii. 24, proves their contrariety. Yet their conciliation has been attempted from Calvin's time till the present, either by assuming that Paul speaks of justification before God, James of justification before men;¹ or that the latter refers to faith as his opponents understood it in the nineteenth verse; and to his own view of it in the succeeding ones. As far as words convey the meaning of a writer they imply the idea of mutual operation; that is, faith and works co-operate in effecting justification. Their influence is co-ordinate. Which is the more potent factor is unknown. All that can be predicated is, that the one works along with the other in inducing the state of mind involved in justification.² The contradiction is not obviated by Neander's observation that Paul looks at the objective-divine, the ground of election by God on which man's trust should rest; James at the subjective-human which, presupposing the divine fact whence all proceeds, man must perform on his part.³ Nor is it removed by showing that James applies the same term to two distinct affections of the soul, the one passive, the other active, as long as it is admitted that the faith predicated of Abraham by both is a non-passive state of mind. The introduction of

¹ 'Paulo esse gratuitam justitiæ imputationem apud Dei tribunal: Jacobo autem esse demonstrationem justitiæ ab effectis, idque apud homines.'—*Calvin in Jacobi Ep.* ii. 21.

² The true sense of the verb translated *wrought with* (συνήργει) must not be minimised with B. Brückner to signify no more than an 'aufeinander des wechselseitigen Wirkens;' it includes a 'nebeneinander Wirken;' in other words, a concurrent operation.

³ *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w.*, zweyter Band, p. 864, vierte Auflage.

Abraham in ii. 21 is for an opposite purpose to that which Paul had in view in his epistle to the Romans. This is clear. However plausible Neander's exposition of the views given by James and Paul respectively concerning the justifying power of faith and works, it does not harmonise them. And if *he* has not succeeded in reconciling what is incapable of agreement, as Baur has demonstrated, it may be inferred that others fail. It is easy to say that 'the truths which these two great apostles were commissioned to teach were complementary and supplementary, but not contradictory of each other;' but the words, 'ye see then how that by works a man is justified and not by faith only,' plainly refute the affirmation. The laboured attempts of Bishops Bull and O'Brien, with the subtleties of Brückner, do not commend themselves to common sense. But language can always be adapted to preconceived notions.¹

The difference has its root in the views of human nature peculiar to the two authors. While Paul attributes reality only to the facts of consciousness, James assigns to works that leave palpable marks on the outward world. The former emphasises the mental state, leaving its external manifestations out of account; the latter co-ordinates faith and works. To Paul, the ideal is the only real; to James the noumenal and actual, the internal and external are separate; a dualism which Paul commonly ignores. Semitic thought is reflected in James rather than Paul; the latter showing his mental characteristics in holding forth the spiritual consciousness with which faith is identical. While their idiosyncrasies create an important discrepancy, the later has also respect to the earlier writer, giving his view by way of contrast and correction. It may be that the writer misunderstood the Pauline doctrine of justification, in

¹ Some pertinent examples of artificial harmonising are given by Dr. Gloag in his Introduction to the catholic epistles, pp. 68 70.

opposing to it his own empirical view which lacked the spiritual element pervading Paul's. We doubt not, however, that he meant to rectify his predecessor's conception of the way of attaining to righteousness in the sight of God.¹

It is admitted that the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith had been abused by many. But James opposes the thing itself not its abuse. The dogma was unacceptable to Jewish Christians. We know that it was subsequently perverted; the apostle's view of faith being used to the detriment of practical religion. Such antinomianism was not of Jewish origin, but a Gnostic tendency, a speculative idealism going beyond Paul's.

The anti-paulinism of the passage in James implies that Paul's writings had been current for a considerable time. He himself had passed off the scene, without drawing Jewish Christians from the observance of the law, or detaching them from the doctrine of works co-operating with faith. Notwithstanding his Christian spirit² the Jewish standpoint of the writer is visible.

6. The resemblances found in our epistle to the first epistle of Peter have always attracted the notice of critics. They consist in expressions as well as ideas, and have been used in determining the dates of the documents. Compare ἀναστροφὴ καλὴ (James iii. 13), ἀναστροφὴ ἀγαθὴ and ἀγνὴ (1 Peter iii. 16, 2); καταλαλεῖν (James iv. 11; 1 Peter ii. 12; iii. 16); ἀμίαντος (James i. 27; 1 Peter i. 4), ἄσπιλος (James i. 27; 1 Peter i. 19), πρᾶντης (James i. 21; iii. 13; 1 Peter iii. 15), ἀγνίζω καρδίας (James iv. 8),—ψυχὰς (1 Peter i. 22), ῥνπαρία (James i. 21), ῥύπος (1 Peter iii. 21), πειρασμοὶ ποικιλοὶ (James i. 2; 1 Peter i. 6), τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως (James i. 3; 1 Peter i. 7), διάβολος (James iv. 7; 1 Peter v. 8) a word not used by Paul;

¹ In ii. 14 the Revised Version has 'can *that* faith save him,' which follows Beza's translation but is incorrect. The Greek article does not admit of that demonstrative sense in the Hellenistic dialect.

² See Holtzmann in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. iii. p. 183, etc.

ἡγγικε used of the second coming (James v. 8; 1 Peter iv. 7), ἀλήθεια meaning the ethical truth of Christianity (James i. 18, v. 19; 1 Peter i. 22), διασπορά applied to Christians (James i. 1; 1 Peter i. 1). Affliction and temptation are viewed as a trial of faith (James i. 3; 1 Peter i. 7); the word of truth or of God is viewed as the instrument of regeneration (James i. 18; 1 Peter i. 23); lusts are said *to war* (James iv. 1; 1 Peter ii. 11; comp. Romans vii. 23); and a good conversation is shown in works (James iii. 13; 1 Peter ii. 12). Though we cannot say with Von Soden that such alliance in language and ideas shows that both documents came out of the same sphere, they betray at least an acquaintance on the part of the one writer with the other. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that both cited from the same source (comp. James i. 10, etc., 1 Peter i. 24, with Isaiah xl. 6, etc.; James iv. 6, 1 Peter v. 5, from Proverbs iii. 34; James v. 20, 1 Peter iv. 8 both agreeing verbally, from Proverbs x. 12).

It is not easy to decide on which side the dependence of these coincidences lies. Notwithstanding the confidence with which Von Soden relies upon Brückner's article¹ in favour of Peter's priority, we are disposed to take the opposite view, assigning the priority to James.

7. The example of Rahab in ii. 25 may have been taken from the epistle to the Hebrews. Allusions to the epistle to the Hebrews have been found in Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, given here as an example of justification by works as opposed to justification by faith (James ii. 21 and Hebrews xi. 17); and the emphasising of a 'dead faith' over against 'dead works' (ii. 26 and Hebrews vi. 1). 'The fruit of righteousness sown in peace' is an echo of 'the peaceable fruit of righteousness' (iii. 18 and Hebrews xii. 11).

8. Allusions to the Revelation have been found in i. 12 to Revelation ii. 10; in ii. 5 to Revelation ii. 9;

¹ See Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 533, etc.

and in i. 18 to Revelation xiv. 4; but these are precarious. The ideas of the Apocalypse are very different from those of James's epistle. 'The lamb slain' is unknown to the latter.

9. The direction to send for the elders of the church, and their use of oil with the prayer of faith, savours of a post-apostolic time. The original function of the elders was *government*; another is given to them here. The oil acquires a supernatural efficacy by virtue of their prayer, so as to co-operate in the cure of the diseased. The power of a natural remedy is exalted by the elders' prayer. If there be not in this a trace of the magical and theurgic, the writer ascribes to the office-bearers a power not altogether identical with the primitive gift of healing—that of converting prayer and oil into successful remedial agents of body and soul. Besides, the office of eldership is separated from the members of the church, a thing which did not exist in primitive Christianity; and a cure of souls points to a later period similar to that implied in 1 Tim. v. 17. Spiritual functions belonged originally to all the members; and the elders were to watch over general order and practice. Those afterwards called 'pastors and teachers' had the guidance of souls; the office of elder was originally confined to the church's outward guidance.

10. The passage v. 12 agrees with a text in the gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Clementines¹ also use. But we can hardly suppose that it was taken from that gospel. Christ's words about swearing, as they are recorded in his sermon on the mount (Matt. v. 34–37), were handed down orally; which accounts for their form being a little different in Matthew, James, the Clementines, and the Gospel of the Hebrews. Neither can we believe that the resemblances of certain places to others in the Book of Wisdom and Ecclesi-

¹ iii. 55.

asticus are free citations; though they are so regarded by Theile, Schwegler, and Holtzmann.¹ The ethical tendency of the works accounts for the resemblances in question.

11. The fact that the essential doctrines of Pauline Christianity, the death of Christ, atonement by his blood, the influence of the Holy Spirit, recede into the background as they do in the Clementines, suggests a post-apostolic origin. It is impossible to fix the date of the epistle with accuracy. The contents do not settle it, though they point to a period in which the churches addressed were in an orderly state with divided seats and the intrusion of worldly distinctions. One passage implies antecedence to the destruction of Jerusalem; but that is negatived by authorship in James's name. The epistle may be put about A.D. 90. Hilgenfeld argues for a late date from ii. 6-7, v. 6, because legal courts for trying Christians were not instituted before Domitian (A.D. 81-96). Formal legal courts authorised by the emperor need not be found in the passages. Those who put it into the second century, as Baur and others, find some difficulty in supporting the opinion. Because of the striking resemblance which the letter bears to those of the Roman Clement and Hermas, Holtzmann inclines to assign the origin of the three to one place in rapid succession; Clement of Rome, then James, last Hermas. The same late date is upheld by Pfeiderer, who brings it after Hermas.

AUTHENTICITY AND CANONICITY.

Clement of Rome, Hermas, and Irenæus are cited in favour of the epistle. The first writes to the Corinthians: 'Abraham, called (God's) friend, was found faithful, in that he was obedient to the words of

¹ Compare James i. 5 with Sirach xx. 15; i. 10 with Sirach ii. 9; i. 13 with Sirach xv. 11; v. 1 with Wisdom v. 8; v. 6 with Wisdom ii. 20 and Sirach xxxi. 22.

God. . . . Through faith and hospitality, a son was given him in his old age; and by obedience he offered him a sacrifice to God' (compare James ii. 21-23).¹

Again: 'By faith and hospitality, Rahab the harlot was saved' (compare James ii. 25 and Hebr. xi. 31).²

The former passage makes it probable that Clement had read the epistle, the second is uncertain. Others quoted by Lardner and Kirchhofer are doubtful.³

It is also supposed that Hermas has alluded to our epistle at least in one place: 'For if ye resist him (the devil), he will flee from you with confusion' (compare James iv. 7).⁴ This testimony is uncertain, because the saying was a current one.

But although the passages in Hermas that appear to be reminiscences of our epistle are not so decisive as some think, making them even bear upon identity of time and place between the authors of James's epistle and of the Shepherd of Hermas; it is probable that the one writer was acquainted with the other, because their point of view is similar. Both look at Christianity in its ethical aspect, separate the rich and poor widely, and present an attenuated Judaistic doctrine.⁵

Irenæus seems to have known the epistle when he writes: 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God' (James ii. 23).⁶

It will be observed, that none of these writers refers to the epistle as *Scripture* or *canonical* or *written by James*. Their evidence simply attests the existence of it when they wrote.

¹ *Ad Cor.* c. 10.

² *Ibid.* c. 12.

³ See a list of linguistic parallels by V. Soden in the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1884, pp. 171, 172.

⁴ *Mandat.* xii. 5.

⁵ See Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 30, etc.

⁶ 'Ipse Abraham credit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est.'—*Adv. Hæres.* lib. iv. xvi. 2, p. 1016, ed. Migne.

The first author who expressly mentions James is Origen: 'For though it be called faith, if it be without works it is dead, as we read in the epistle current as James's.'¹

The word here rendered *current* may indicate a doubt in Origen's mind whether James really wrote the epistle. In parts of his works which exist only in Rufinus's Latin version,² the letter is cited as the apostle James's, the brother of our Lord; it is even styled 'the divine epistle of the apostle James;' but such expressions may be interpolated.

Eusebius states that Clemens Alexandrinus made brief comments on all the catholic epistles;³ and Cassiodorus says that he explained the canonical epistles, i.e. the first of Peter, the first and second of John, and the epistle of Jude.⁴ It is improbable that Clement commented on *all* the catholic epistles. He has nowhere quoted or alluded to that of James; and Zahn himself admits the indefiniteness of the traces that have been adduced. The fragments of Dionysius of Alexandria are too doubtful to be cited as his, though Hug uses them.

Tertullian never mentions the epistle. The three passages given by Lardner and Kirchhofer, bearing some resemblance to parts of James, are insufficient to prove his use of it. And yet he employed the canonical books of the New Testament, even the short epistle to Philemon. In his 'Scorpiace,'⁵ after citing Peter, John, and Paul, he has nothing from James, though passages in his letter were appropriate. It is still more remark-

¹ ἐὰν γὰρ λέγεται μὲν πίστις, χωρὶς δὲ ἔργων τυγχάνη, νεκρά ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη, ὥς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ ἀνέγνωμεν.—*Comment. in Joann.* tom. xix. (*Opp.* iv. p. 306).

² *Commentary in Ep. ad Rom.* lib. iv.—*Opp.* iv. p. 535. *Ibid.* p. 536, lib. ix. p. 654. Hom. 3 in Psalm xxxvi. p. 671. Hom. 13 in Gen., 3 and 8 in Exod., 2 in Levit.

³ *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14.

⁴ *Institut. Divin. Scriptur.* c. viii. *Judæ* not *Jacobi* is the right reading.

⁵ Cap. 8.

able that he does not appeal to James, v. 16, in his treatise on prayer. He either knew nothing of the epistle; or knowing, rejected it as uncanonical.

The Muratorian fragment on the canon passes over the epistle; while the Pseudo-Clementine writings and ⁶ Apostolic Constitutions have no trace of it. The silence of Hegesippus regarding the epistle is a remarkable fact, since the account he gives of James shows how highly he esteemed him.

Eusebius puts it among the antilegomena. His words are: 'But of the controverted, though well known (or approved) by many, are that called the epistle of James,' etc.¹ Elsewhere the historian writes: 'Thus far concerning James, who is said to be the author of the first of the seven epistles called *catholic*. It should be observed, however, that it is reckoned spurious: at least, not many of the ancients have mentioned it,' etc.²

These words of Eusebius will bear two meanings. They may express his own opinion about the epistle, viz. that it is spurious; or they may represent the opinion of others in his day, viz. that it was commonly rejected. With Rufinus and others we adopt the latter view, chiefly because the historian quotes the epistle elsewhere as 'the holy apostle's,' and 'Scripture,'³ terms inconsistent with the idea of its spuriousness. Yet Eusebius uses the appellation 'apostle' loosely; and does not attribute the same authority to our epistle as he does to those of Paul.

Hippolytus appears to quote the epistle, but not as Scripture or James's: 'for judgment is without

¹ τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγόμενων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰουδα.—*H. E.* iii. 25.

² τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν· οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, κ.τ.λ.—*Ibid.* ii. 23.

³ Compare *Comment. in Psalmos*, Psalm c.—*Opp.* vol. v, p. 1244, ed. Migne.

mercy to him that has not showed mercy' (James ii. 13).¹

Jerome acknowledged the authenticity: 'James, called the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, wrote but one epistle, which is among the seven catholic ones; which is also said to have been published by another in his name, though it has gradually obtained authority, in process of time.'²

Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected it, as we learn from Leontius of Byzantium.

The Peshito or old Syriac version has the epistle. Hence Ephrem speaks of it as written by James the Lord's brother. The canon of the Syrian church affords important evidence in favour of the epistle's authenticity.

This summary of early testimony is not favourable to the canonical authority of our letter. Among the Greeks till the fourth century, its reception was not universal; and it was not approved by many. Its credit afterwards increased, so that it was generally received as canonical in the fifth century. The Latin church took little notice of the epistle for some centuries. The synod of Carthage (A.D. 397), put it into the canon. The Latin as well as the Greek church made small use of the work till the fourth century, both being suspicious of its authenticity; but the Syrian church received it early.

LEADING OBJECT.

The object of the writer is to admonish the readers, to censure the errors connected with their Christian life,

¹ ἡ γὰρ κρίσις ἀνιλεώς ἐστι τῇ μὴ ποιήσαντι ἔλεος.—*Treatise concerning the End of the World and Antichrist*, p. 122, ed. P. de Lagarde.

² 'Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est, quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.'—*Catal. Script. Eccles.* c. 2.

and to console them in adverse circumstances. They were guilty of improprieties. Their faults needed rectification, and they are reproved. They were exposed to outward trials and suffering from oppression. He exhorts them to be patient and steadfast, maintaining their trust in the divine word amid discouragements. Thus his object was to reprove, comfort, exhort, and encourage. Aware of the general circumstances affecting them and the errors they had committed, he addresses them in a practical style, showing what a Christian should be—‘a perfect man’ (iii. 2).

It is impossible to discover any definite cause which led the unknown author to write in James’s name. Only one part of the epistle is polemic (ii. 14–26); the rest is commonly corrective and conciliatory. Everything personal and individual is absent from the letter, because James writing from Jerusalem to Christians scattered abroad, could have known little of them except in a general way. Doubtless the author’s motive was good; so that he speaks with authority to the brethren, reproving them for their worldliness and exposing their faults.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WRITER AND HIS READERS.

The nature of the epistle is peculiar, forming a contrast to Paul’s writings, since the author’s standpoint is Jewish rather than Christian. The ideas are cast in a Jewish mould. The very name of Christ occurs but twice (i. 1; ii. 1), and His atonement is scarcely touched. We see little more than the threshold of the new system. It is the teaching of a Christian Jew, not of one who had reached an apprehension of the essence of Christ’s religion. The doctrinal development is imperfect. It is only necessary to read the entire epistle to perceive the truth of these remarks. In warning his readers against transgression of the law by partiality to indivi-

duals, the author adduces Jewish rather than Christian motives (ii. 8-13). The greater part of the 3rd chapter respecting the government of the tongue is of the same character, in which Christ's example is not once alluded to; the illustrations being taken from objects in nature. The warning against uncharitable judgment does not refer to Christ, or to God who puts his Spirit in the hearts of believers, but to the law (iv. 10-12). He who judges his neighbour, judges the law. The exhortation to feel and act under constant remembrance of the dependence of our life on God, belongs to the same category (iv. 13-17). He that knows good without doing it, is earnestly admonished to practise virtue and to avoid self-security, without reference to motives connected with redemption. Job and the prophets are quoted as examples of patience, not Christ; and the efficacy of prayer is proved by the instance of Elias, without allusion to the Redeemer's promise (v. 17). The epistle is wound up after the same Jewish fashion; though the opportunity of mentioning Christ, who gave himself a sacrifice for sin, presented itself naturally.

The very method in which the author writes is Hebraistic. His sentences are short and weighty, like the proverbial sayings of the Jews. Their connection is feeble, one following another without a clear link of union. Even when a subject is treated more fully than usual, an epigrammatic sentence closes it (i. 5-8, 13-16, 22-27; ii. 1-13, 14-26; iii. 1-5, 6-8, 13-18; iv. 1-10, 13-17; v. 7-10). The author's mode of proof is by the law, and by examples occurring in the Old Testament.

The phenomena of the epistle have been explained in two ways, on the assumption of its authenticity. With Neander and Messner some believe that James remained in the narrow circle of doctrinal ideas here unfolded, and that he could do little more than conduct his countrymen from the old dispensation to the new. Being a

teacher of the Jewish rather than the Christian system, he was unable to instruct men in Christian knowledge. Others believe that James adapted his method of instruction to the persons addressed, because their knowledge was elementary and they could not bear advanced doctrines. Neither explanation accounts for the character of the epistle. The resemblance of many sentiments in the epistle to the sermon on the mount arises from the writer's Jewish Christian standpoint. As the discourses of Jesus are ethical not dogmatic, representing a purified and enlarged Judaism, the sentiments and language of the letter approach them. By comparing James i. 5, 6, with Matt. vii. 7, xxi. 22; ii. 5 with Matt. v. 3; ii. 8 with Matt. xxii. 39; ii. 13 with Matt. vii. 1, 2; iii. 1 with Matt. xxiii. 8-14; iii. 12 with Matt. vii. 16; iii. 18 with Matt. v. 9; v. 12, 13, with Matt. v. 34-37, the agreement is readily perceived. The writer did not quote the present gospel of Matthew. The *logia* of Jesus were circulated from mouth to mouth; and the author drew from tradition and memory without recourse to a written source. There is no verbal parallelism as we should expect, had he quoted either from a gospel or from any documentary source of one. The parallel in v. 12 with Matthew v. 34, etc., shows his originality in deviating from the latter.

In comparison with Paul's writings, the epistle may be called retrograde. Christianity would have been a different thing had it continued upon the Old Testament platform, or been developed along its lines. Compared with Paulinism, the teaching is objective and practical, having none of the characteristics which the apostle derived from the depths of his consciousness. It is ethical not doctrinal; dealing with conduct rather than consciousness. Yet it has a value of its own; and should not be depreciated in Luther's style.

The picture of the Jewish Christians is not minutely drawn, but consists of a few general strokes wanting

specific colouring. Graphic as far as it extends, it is neither definite nor complete. The believers addressed in the epistle presented the following features :—

1. They had comfortable places of assembling for worship and presiding elders. Teaching was not yet restricted to the office-bearers, since many were eager to instruct their brethren (ii. 2, 6, 7 ; v. 14 ; iii. 1).

2. They were commonly poor, though several rich among them were elated with their condition (i. 10, 11).

3. They were oppressed in various ways by the rich. Under the weight of privations and persecutions, they were inclined to shield themselves from responsibility by pleading the power of outward temptations, which they ascribed to God's providence (i. 11–13 ; ii. 6 ; v. 8–11).

4. In their assemblies partiality was shown to the rich on account of differences in worldly station, to the prejudice of Christian love (ii. 1–6, 8–13).

5. Their hearts were not deeply penetrated by the power of religion, but were largely under the dominion of worldly lusts and inordinate desires. They showed violence of temper, sought to effect their object by contention, were envious, uncharitable, censorious ; and did not put that restraint on their language which prevented swearing in ordinary conversation. Their hearts, in short, were too much set upon the world (i. 19–21 ; iii. 10–18 ; iv. ; v. 12).

6. Besides violating the law of love, they overvalued faith to the neglect of works, contenting themselves with an assent to the truth of Christianity which left their hearts unchanged and produced no good fruits in the life (ii. 14–26).

7. They were also too forward to assume the office of religious teachers, many pressing into that duty who had no proper control over their tongue or right views of their responsibility (iii. 1, etc.).

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

The epistle was not translated from an Aramæan original as Wordsworth supposes, but was composed in Greek, and shows a good acquaintance with this language on the part of the author. The words employed are generally pure, select, and appropriate. The Hebraisms are few; it is difficult to account for such purity of diction in one who resided at Jerusalem all his life, and did not take the free direction of Paul with regard to Christianity. Occasionally, however, there is an artificial air about the style, and an absence of that easy flow which bespeaks a perfect mastery of language. Some expressions are peculiar and unusual, as the term translated *ways* (i. 11);¹ the participle rendered *of his own will* (i. 18);² the phrase *when ye fall into divers temptations* (i. 2);³ *shadow of turning* (i. 17);⁴ *he begat* (i. 18).⁵ The most prominent feature of the author's style is its graphic liveliness and oratorical cast, exemplified in numerous comparisons and metaphors, the accumulation of predicates, verbs and interrogatives. There are even genuine poetical expressions, as in i. 14, etc.; iii. 5, etc.; v. 1, etc., where the imagery is luxuriant. The composition may be characterised as a whole by sententiousness; the diction by elegance and fitness. The hexameter in i. 17, has nothing to do with the reading of Greek verses or the citation of Christian hymns; the words flowed forth unconsciously, as sometimes happens to good prose writers. Our author was familiar with the Hebrew prophets; and his manner, which is bold, aspiring and vigorous, resembles theirs. His denunciations are powerful, his strokes nervous and weighty, so that he even becomes sublime at times. A narrow Jewish Christian who

¹ πορείαι.² βουληθείς.³ ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσῃτε ποικίλοις.⁴ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα.⁵ ἀπεκύσεν.

never travelled beyond Jerusalem could hardly have written the Greek of the letter. It is easy to say with Dr. Salmon, 'we can give no reason why James might not know as much Greek as another Jew;' but that is no reply to the argument against James's authorship, founded upon the difficulty of believing that the reputed author could write so good Greek.

Bishop Jebb adduces many examples of the parallelism characteristic of Hebrew poetry, and traces the train of thought with much ingenuity, representing James as a logician and poet together.¹ But these refined speculations have no proper basis; the parallelisms and logical connection being often imaginary. The epistle has a persuasive character, and the style is elevated; but the poetical is not its prevailing feature, and the logical scarcely appears.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The letter does not admit of formal division, being without plan or order. Hence the ideas are repeated. The writer passes rapidly from one topic to another, returning at intervals to his main purpose without logical connection. We divide the work into a succession of paragraphs, in the following manner:—

(a) The inscription and salutation (verse 1).

(b) An exhortation to the readers to take joyfully their privations, sufferings, and poverty; to be steadfast under them, and to aim at Christian perfection, even through such discipline (i. 2–4).

(c) Placed in trying circumstances, they are exhorted to ask wisdom from God without doubting, firmly relying on his mercy (i. 5–8).

(d) The joy referred to before in the midst of their trials, would be experienced in the state of their own minds, in their inward consciousness; and they would

¹ *Sacred Literature*, etc. § xiv. p. 273, *et seq.*

receive the reward of steadfastness, after their trials, in a crown of life (i. 9-12).

(*e*) Should privations and sufferings tempt to evil, the fault must not be imputed to God the Father of lights, the giver of all good gifts; but to themselves and their sinful lusts (i. 13-18).

(*f*) He exhorts his readers to appreciate the word of God more and more; and not only to hear, but to practise it (i. 19-27).

(*g*) He censures them because of their partiality to the rich in their assemblies for worship, and their contempt for the poor, which is a violation of the great law of love; a law he exhorts them to observe (ii. 1-13).

(*h*) As faith should not be without love, so it should not be without works, the author refuting the persons who alleged that they had faith while showing no evidence of it in the life, and supposing themselves justified by faith alone (ii. 14-26).

(*i*) A warning is now introduced against forwardness in assuming the office of religious teachers, since a great responsibility is incurred by every one who attempts to guide and instruct others. This leads the author to speak of the frequent abuse of the tongue. One should show his wisdom by meekness and humility, not by litigiousness. There is an earthly and a heavenly wisdom; the former appearing where strife and envying are; the latter, accompanied with purity and peace (ch. iii.).

(*j*) Evil passions are condemned as the source of contention and violence (iv. 1-3).

(*k*) A solemn warning follows, and an exhortation to repentance addressed to the worldly-minded and sinners (iv. 4-10).

(*l*) The writer condemns detraction and censoriousness (iv. 11, 12).

(*m*) He censures forgetfulness of dependence on

God, by showing the irreligious confidence in worldly undertakings displayed by many (iv. 13-17).

(*n*) Here is a threatening against the rich, who, abandoning themselves to every gratification, had deprived the innocent of the means of subsistence (v. 1-6).

(*o*) Christians suffering from the oppression of the rich are exhorted to patience, and comforted with the idea of the Lord's near approach (v. 7-11).

(*p*) We have a dissuasive against swearing in conversation (v. 12).

(*q*) Prayer is recommended in a variety of situations (v. 13-18).

(*r*) The epistle concludes with the importance and blessedness of endeavouring to reclaim an erring brother from the evil of his ways (v. 19, 20).

There is no proper termination, but an abrupt and unusual ending without an apostolic benediction.

Though the epistle occupies a place in the canon subordinate to the Pauline writings, its lessons are valuable. It breathes a healthy spirit, and presents views of life which are eminently Christian. All is referred to God, the great author and sovereign of the world. Its practical tone is a preservative against the Pauline element in excess, or the antinomianism which relies on faith to the neglect of works. The precepts contain a sound morality, in contrast to the doctrinal and speculative element for which Paul's epistles are quoted. A production which associates divine causality with the steadfastness of an active and pure life, may well rebuke the religion which relies on dogma for acceptance with God.

Luther's judgment of its value is expressed with his usual energy. 'In comparison with the best books of the New Testament, it is a downright strawy epistle, is not an apostolic production, directly ascribes justification to works contrary to Paul and all other Scripture, makes no mention of the sufferings, resurrection, and

Spirit of Christ, and throws one thing into another without order.’¹ The result which the reformer arrives at is that the writer lived long after Peter and Paul. His spiritual instinct appears in some of these statements. He is right in saying that it is not evangelical from a Pauline point of view; and that it contradicts the apostle of the Gentiles in relation to the doctrine of justification. But it is a valuable letter notwithstanding, because dogma does not constitute the essence of Christianity. Doctrines are but opinions; ethics, spirit and life.

¹ See Luther’s *Werke*, xiv. pp. 105, 148, etc., ed. Walch. The longest statements are in the preface to James’s epistle in the edition of the New Testament published in 1522. The epithet ‘strawy’ epistle occurs in the preface to the edition of 1524.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE GOSPELS.

MUTUAL RELATION.

THOSE who compare the first three gospels cannot fail to perceive that they agree not only in the substance of what they relate but often in the diction itself. Amid minor diversities they harmonise with one another in contents. Numerous investigations have been made to explain the resemblances.

The following hypotheses have been proposed to account for them:—

1. That the gospels were derived from a common written source or sources.

2. That they were derived from oral tradition which had assumed a fixed form.

3. That earlier gospels were used in the composition of the later.

4. Some have combined the last two opinions, making a composite view out of them.

It would be a waste of time to discuss these opinions at length. We can only indicate what is settled among the best critics.

The first view has passed away, notwithstanding the amount of ingenuity expended in developing it by Eichhorn¹ and Marsh. It is clumsy, laboured, and inadequate.

The second is also obsolete, in spite of Gieseler's

¹ *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, vol. i.

able explanation.¹ Though it accounts for many resemblances and discordances in the gospels, it fails to explain their numerous verbal coincidences. The fixed form which it requires for the oral gospel must involve peculiar verbal agreements which would not be stereotyped. It does not meet the case, to say that the Jews preserved the sayings of their great teachers with strict accuracy; for the circle of hearers in which the oral gospel is supposed to have been formed was wider, more miscellaneous, less intellectual than the class that treasured up the sayings of the Jewish rabbis, not to speak of the manifoldness of the sayings of Jesus compared with the more easily retained and concise dicta of the former. Besides, the Jews did not rely on memory alone but wrote down what they valued most.

The third hypothesis is the only tenable one. We should not say that the evangelists 'recommended each other,' as Dr. H. Owen affirms; nor is it a sufficient answer to the objection, 'how came they not to avoid the many contradictions observable among them,' that these are only *seeming* contradictions, which would disappear were we fully acquainted with all the facts and circumstances. The evangelists used one another freely, having ulterior sources written and oral, which they employed according to the purpose that guided selection. It was not their intention to sift the documents at their disposal, to copy them literally, or to adhere to them. Their scope was wider, following no exact rule; and their passing from one source to another should not be judged by a modern standard. A leading motive usually guided their general procedure, shaping the narratives from whatever source they were drawn. Indifferent about perfect agreement, the avoidance of contradictions did not disturb them: they were intent on more important things. Those who think they re-

¹ *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien*, 1818.

fute our view by putting into juxtaposition passages which agree verbally, diverge, return to verbal coincidence and so on, assume that they prove absurdity in a writer who, after taking a few words from his predecessor, gives a few that vary either because they come from another document or because of his own caprice, while predecessors are used alternately in an interlacing fashion. But this is a caricature of the view, making the evangelists mechanical copyists, and leaving out of account the employment of additional documents, conscious freedom in dealing as well with the matter as the manner of each other's compositions, and especially the processes through which the gospels passed before they reached their present state under the hands of redactors. The synoptics as they now are, show the result, not the progress, of mutual derivation.

Those who believe in the original independence of the evangelists—that each wrote without seeing his predecessor's work—have been fairly driven out of the field of criticism. One valid argument overthrows their belief, viz. the peculiar resemblance of Mark's gospel to that of Matthew. It is easy to allege that on the ground of one evangelist following another, no good reason can be given why each has here and there something peculiar to himself; why he occasionally speaks more definitely than another, more circumstantially, more chronologically, more briefly. It is also easy to assert, that no good reason can be given why the diction of one should be altered by his successor for the worse, or changed without improvement, or rendered obscurer. Difficulties innumerable may be raised with respect to the abridging and adding processes of a later evangelist. Why did he act so and so?

The question can be brought to a probable issue in one way only; viz. by carefully examining and comparing the gospels as we have them. What do the

phenomena themselves suggest? Is the similarity in all cases of a nature to exclude the partial dependence of one writer on another? Notwithstanding discrepancies in matter and manner which intersect resemblances—diversities interlacing the agreements in every variety—the evidence is sufficient to show that the authors were not independent of one another.

We rely on the coincidences between Mark and Matthew alone to prove that the former used the latter.

It is less clear that Mark employed Matthew and Luke; or that Luke followed Matthew and Mark. The priority of Luke to Mark is the more probable; and therefore that Mark used the gospels of his two predecessors. To reconcile contradictions with the view now taken is not difficult, if the individuality of the writers be allowed fair scope by the side of varying documents and oral tradition.

The canonical gospels were composed out of written materials chiefly. Earlier documents, which afterwards disappeared, preceded and contributed to each. This applies not only to the first but to the second and third. But oral tradition must not be excluded; though it formed a small element in the composition of each, because much of it had been incorporated into written collections when the canonical gospels appeared.

It is satisfactory to perceive that good critics have ceased to regard harmonies, both Greek and English. Whatever use such works may have had once, their day is past. Labouring attempts to put every part of the gospels into its right chronological place by transpositions, assumptions, violent distortions, so as to make a consistent and successive narrative out of all, are useless. It is painful to see the efforts of their authors to remove contradictions, and to explain in a conciliatory spirit portions that are really intractable. While credit is due to Greswell and Robinson, the two ablest harmonists, for their attempts to construct works of this

nature, their failure is apparent. As long as *plenary* inspiration is attributed to the evangelists, it is the interest of its advocates to find pervading unity in the four gospels—unity inconsistent with apparent or real discrepancies. Those who decry harmonies while advocating plenary inspiration are inconsistent. Though they see that harmonists fail in many places, they do not help them to work out what is in the interests of their own belief. Their duty is to aid harmonising essays to the utmost, and not to take refuge in ignorance of all the circumstances of the case. It is timid policy to say, when a real contradiction stares the interpreter in the face, ‘This could be satisfactorily cleared up did we know all the circumstances.’ What is it but saying in effect, ‘I have a shorter way of getting out of the difficulties than the harmonists? I admit the present inexplicability of passages, but hold that they are perfectly consistent if more light were thrown upon the circumstances; because inspiration excludes the contradiction of Scripture with itself. Perhaps also the text is corrupt; it should be altered, even against authority.’

The true corrective of harmonies is an honest explanation of the gospels as the best textual criticism presents them. By fair exegesis, ingenious hypotheses of ‘plenary’ or ‘dynamical’ inspiration—an inspiration said to combine the two elements of the human and divine in perfection—appear at once as the inventions of apologists building castles without proper regard to the materials. The castles are built first; and the stones are afterwards shaped with great labour, or with a capricious readiness that forces them into unsuitable positions. The four copies of the title on the cross are sufficient to overthrow the flimsy fabrics.

The harmony subsisting between the first three gospels in matter and manner may be seen in the following sections and passages :—

1. Matt. iii. 1-12.	Mark i. 2-8.	Luke iii. 1-18.
2. „ iii. 13-17.	„ i. 9-11.	„ iii. 21, 22.
3. „ iv. 1-11.	„ i. 12, 13.	„ iv. 1-13.
4. „ iv. 12-17.	„ i. 14, 15.	„ iv. 14, 15.
5. „ iv. 18-22.	„ i. 16-20.	„ v. 1-11.
6. „ v. 15.	„ iv. 21.	„ viii. 16, and xi. 33.
7. „ viii. 2-4.	„ i. 40-45.	„ v. 12-16.
8. „ viii. 14-17.	„ i. 29-34.	„ iv. 38-41.
9. „ viii. 23-27.	„ iv. 36-41.	„ viii. 22-25.
10. „ viii. 28-34.	„ v. 1-20.	„ viii. 26-39.
11. „ ix. 1-8.	„ ii. 1-12.	„ v. 17-26.
12. „ ix. 9.	„ ii. 13, 14.	„ v. 27, 28.
13. „ ix. 10-17.	„ ii. 15-22.	„ v. 29-39.
14. „ ix. 18-26.	„ v. 22-43.	„ viii. 41-56.
15. „ x. 1.	„ vi. 7.	„ ix. 1.
16. „ x. 2-4.	„ iii. 16-19.	„ vi. 13-16.
17. „ x. 5-14.	„ vi. 8-11.	„ ix. 2-5.
18. „ xii. 1-8.	„ ii. 23-28.	„ vi. 1-5.
19. „ xii. 9-14.	„ iii. 1-6.	„ vi. 6-11.
20. „ xii. 22-30.	„ iii. 22-27.	„ xi. 14-23.
21. „ xii. 46-50.	„ iii. 31-35.	„ viii. 19-21.
22. „ xiii. 1-23.	„ iv. 1-25.	„ viii. 4-15.
23. „ xiv. 1, 2.	„ vi. 14, 15.	„ ix. 7, 8.
24. „ xiv. 3, 4.	„ vi. 17, 18.	„ iii. 19, 20.
25. „ xiv. 13-21.	„ vi. 30-44.	„ ix. 10-17.
26. „ xvi. 13-28.	„ viii. 27-ix. 1.	„ ix. 18-27.
27. „ xvii. 1-8.	„ ix. 2-8.	„ ix. 28-36.
28. „ xvii. 14-18.	„ ix. 14-27.	„ ix. 37-43.
29. „ xvii. 22, 23.	„ ix. 30-32.	„ ix. 43-45.
30. „ xviii. 1-5.	„ ix. 33-41.	„ ix. 46-50.
31. „ xix. 13-15.	„ x. 13-16.	„ xviii. 15-17.
32. „ xix. 16-30.	„ x. 17-31.	„ xviii. 18-30.
33. „ xx. 17-19.	„ x. 32-34.	„ xviii. 31-34.
34. „ xx. 29-34.	„ x. 46-52.	„ xviii. 35-43.
35. „ xxi. 1-9.	„ xi. 1-10.	„ xix. 29-38.
36. „ xxi. 12, 13.	„ xi. 15-17.	„ xix. 45, 46.
37. „ xxi. 23-27.	„ xi. 27-33.	„ xx. 1-8.
38. „ xxi. 33-46.	„ xii. 1-12.	„ xx. 9-19.
39. „ xxii. 15-22.	„ xii. 13-17.	„ xx. 20-26.
40. „ xxii. 23-33.	„ xii. 18-27.	„ xx. 27-40.
41. „ xxii. 41-46.	„ xii. 35-37.	„ xx. 41-44.
42. „ xxiii. 1-14.	„ xii. 38-40.	„ xx. 45-47.
43. „ xxiv. 1-36.	„ xiii. 1-32.	„ xxi. 5-33.
44. „ xxvi. 1-5.	„ xiv. 1, 2.	„ xxii. 1, 2.
45. „ xxvi. 14-16.	„ xiv. 10, 11.	„ xxii. 3-6.
46. „ xxvi. 17-29.	„ xiv. 12-25.	„ xxii. 7-23.
47. „ xxvi. 36-56.	„ xiv. 32-52.	„ xxii. 40-53.
48. „ xxvi. 57, 58.	„ xiv. 53, 54.	„ xxii. 54, 55.
49. „ xxvi. 69-75.	„ xiv. 66-72.	„ xxii. 56-71.
50. „ xxvii. 1, 2.	„ xv. 1.	„ xxiii. 1.

51.	Matt. xxvii. 11, 23.	Mark xv. 2-14.	Luke xxiii. 2-23.
52.	" xxvii. 26.	" xv. 15.	" xxiii. 24, 25.
53.	" xxvii. 32.	" xv. 21.	" xxiii. 26.
54.	" xxvii. 33.	" xv. 22.	" xxiii. 33.
55.	" xxvii. 34-38.	" xv. 24-28.	" xxiii. 33, 34, 38.
56.	" xxvii. 39-56.	" xv. 29-41.	" xxiii. 35-49.
57.	" xxvii. 57-61.	" xv. 42-47.	" xxiii. 50-56.
58.	" xxviii. 1-8.	" xvi. 1-8.	" xxiv. 1-9.

The parallels now given from the three gospels will not appear the same in different lists, in consequence of the different views entertained of the principles that should underlie a harmony, and diversities of judgment as to the mode of carrying out these principles. Hence the tables furnished by critics differ.

Again, while the matter constituting the body of the three gospels is similar, there is great diversity in its arrangement. Exact chronological sequence is not in any of the writers. Matthew comes nearest it. In the arrangement of facts, Mark agrees more nearly with Luke than Matthew and is farther from the true order.

There are sections common to two evangelists only, of which the following are all the cases.

(a) Sections and places common to Matthew and Mark:—

1. Matthew.—x. 42.	Mark.—ix. 41.
2. " xiii. 34, 35.	" iv. 33, 34.
3. " xiii. 54-58.	" vi. 2-6.
4. " xiv. 6-12.	" vi. 21-29.
5. " xiv. 22, 23.	" vi. 45, 46.
6. " xiv. 28-36.	" vi. 50-56.
7. " xv. 1-20.	" vii. 1-23.
8. " xv. 21-29.	" vii. 24-31.
9. " xv. 30-39.	" viii. 1-10.
10. " xvi. 1-4.	" viii. 11-13.
11. " xvi. 5-12.	" viii. 14-21.
12. " xvii. 9-13.	" ix. 9-13.
13. " xvii. 19-21.	" ix. 28, 29.
14. " xviii. 6-9.	" ix. 42-48.
15. " xix. 1-9.	" x. 1-12.
16. " xx. 20-28.	" x. 35-45.
17. " xxi. 17-22.	" xi. 11-14, 19-26.
18. " xxii. 34-40.	" xii. 28-34.
19. " xxiv. 22-26.	" xiii. 20-23.

20.	Matthew.—xxvi. 6-13.	Mark.—xiv. 3-9.
21.	„ xxvi. 42-46, 48.	„ xiv. 39-42, 44.
22.	„ xxvi. 59-68.	„ xiv. 55-65.
23.	„ xxvii. 15-18.	„ xv. 6-10.
24.	„ xxvii. 27-31.	„ xv. 16-20.
25.	„ xxvii. 46-49.	„ xv. 34-36.
26.	„ xxviii. 7.	„ xvi. 7.

(b) Passages found in Mark and Luke only :—

1.	Mark.—i. 21-28.	Luke.—iv. 31-37.
2.	„ i. 35-39.	„ iv. 42-44.
3.	„ i. 45.	„ v. 15, 16.
4.	„ ii. 4.	„ v. 19.
5.	„ iii. 13-15.	„ vi. 12, 13.
6.	„ iv. 21-25.	„ viii. 16-18.
7.	„ v. 4.	„ viii. 27.
8.	„ v. 9, 10.	„ viii. 30, 31.
9.	„ v. 29-33.	„ viii. 45-47.
10.	„ v. 35-37.	„ viii. 48-51.
11.	„ vi. 15, 16.	„ ix. 8, 9.
12.	„ vi. 30, 31.	„ ix. 10.
13.	„ viii. 38.	„ ix. 26.
14.	„ ix. 38-40.	„ ix. 49, 50.
15.	„ xi. 18.	„ xix. 47, 48.
16.	„ xii. 41-44.	„ xxi. 1-4.
17.	„ xiii. 9, 11.	„ xxi. 12-15.

(c) Parallel passages found in Matthew and Luke only :—

1.	Matthew.—iv. 3-11.	Luke.—iv. 3-13.
2.	„ v. 1-12.	„ vi. 20-23.
3.	„ v. 39-48.	„ vi. 27-36.
4.	„ v. 18.	„ xvi. 17.
5.	„ v. 25, 26.	„ xii. 58, 59.
6.	„ vi. 7-13.	„ xi. 1-4.
7.	„ vi. 19-21.	„ xii. 33, 34.
8.	„ vi. 22, 23.	„ xi. 34-36.
9.	„ vi. 24.	„ xvi. 13.
10.	„ vi. 25-33.	„ xii. 22-31.
11.	„ vii. 1, 2, 3-5, 12, [16-20, 24-27.	„ vi. 31, 37, 38, 41, 42, [44-49.
12.	„ viii. 5-13.	„ vii. 1-10.
13.	„ viii. 19-22.	„ ix. 57-60.
14.	„ ix. 37, 38.	„ x. 2.
15.	„ x. 12, 13.	„ x. 5, 6.
16.	„ x. 15.	„ x. 12.
17.	„ x. 16.	„ x. 3.
18.	„ x. 19, 20.	„ xii. 11, 12.
19.	„ x. 24.	„ vi. 40.

20.	Matthew.—x.	26-33.	Luke.—xii.	2-9.
21.	"	x. 34, 35.	"	xii. 51-53.
22.	"	xi. 2-19.	"	vii. 18-35.
23.	"	xi. 21-23.	"	x. 13-15.
24.	"	xi. 25-27.	"	x. 21, 22.
25.	"	xii. 23.	"	xi. 14.
26.	"	xii. 38-42.	"	xi. 16, 29-31.
27.	"	xii. 43-45.	"	xi. 24-26.
28.	"	xiii. 33.	"	xiii. 20, 21.
29.	"	xviii. 12-14.	"	xv. 4-7.
30.	"	xxiii. 37-39.	"	xiii. 34, 35.
31.	"	xxiv. 45-51.	"	xii. 42-48.
32.	"	xxv. 14-30.	"	xix. 11-28.

For *verbal correspondences* in three gospels, the following passages, selected from those just given, may serve :—

Matt.—iii.	3.	Mark.—i.	3.	Luke.—iii.	4.
"	iii. 11.	"	i. 7.	"	iii. 16.
"	viii. 2-4.	"	i. 40-44.	"	v. 12-14.
"	viii. 15.	"	i. 31.	"	iv. 39.
"	ix. 2, 4-6.	"	ii. 5, 8-10.	"	v. 20, 22-24.
"	ix. 15.	"	ii. 20.	"	v. 35.
"	ix. 22.	"	v. 34.	"	viii. 48.
"	ix. 24.	"	v. 39.	"	viii. 52.
"	xii. 13.	"	iii. 5.	"	vi. 10.
"	xiv. 19, 20.	"	vi. 41-43.	"	ix. 16, 17.
"	xvi. 21.	"	vii. 31.	"	ix. 22.
"	xvi. 24-26.	"	viii. 34-37.	"	ix. 23-25.
"	xvi. 28.	"	ix. 1.	"	ix. 27.
"	xvii. 5.	"	ix. 7.	"	ix. 35.
"	xvii. 17.	"	ix. 19.	"	ix. 41.
"	xix. 29.	"	x. 29.	"	xviii. 29.
"	xxi. 12, 13.	"	xi. 15, 17.	"	xix. 45, 46.
"	xxi. 23.	"	xi. 28.	"	xx. 2.
"	xxi. 25-27.	"	xi. 30-33.	"	xx. 4-6, 8.
"	xxi. 42.	"	xii. 10.	"	xx. 17.
"	xxii. 44.	"	xii. 36.	"	xx. 42, 43.
"	xxiv. 6-9.	"	xiii. 7-13.	"	xxi. 9-17.
"	xxiv. 19.	"	xiii. 17.	"	xxi. 23.
"	xxiv. 30.	"	xiii. 26.	"	xxi. 27.
"	xxiv. 35.	"	xiii. 31.	"	xxi. 33.
"	xxvi. 29.	"	xiv. 25.	"	xxii. 18.

Other verbal coincidences in the parallel sections and passages of the three gospels may be discovered besides the present. There are some very striking examples in such coincident passages, of verbal agreement

between two of the evangelists, the third relating the same things in different words. None of these, however, has been adduced, because our object is to select verbal coincidences among the three writers *in sections or passages common to all*. The verbal coincidences between two gospels alone are more frequent and striking. Take the following specimens in sections or passages common to two evangelists:—

Matthew.—xiv. 22, 34.	Mark.—vi. 45, 53.
„ xv. 7-10.	„ vii. 6, 7, 14.
„ xv. 26, 32.	„ vii. 27; viii. 1, 2.
„ xix. 5, 6.	„ x. 7-9.
„ xx. 22-28.	„ x. 38-45.
„ xxiv. 22.	„ xiii. 20.
Mark.—i. 24, 25.	Luke.—iv. 34, 35.
„ viii. 38.	„ ix. 26.
„ ix. 38, 40.	„ ix. 49, 50.
Matthew.—v. 44.	Luke.—vi. 27, 28.
„ vii. 5.	„ vi. 42.
„ viii. 8-10.	„ vii. 6-9.
„ viii. 20, 22.	„ ix. 58, 60.
„ xi. 3-11.	„ vii. 19-28.
„ xi. 16-19.	„ vii. 31-35.
„ xii. 41-45.	„ xi. 24-26, 31, 32.
„ xiii. 38.	„ xiii. 20, 21.
„ xxiii. 37, 38.	„ xiii. 34, 35.
„ xxiv. 46-50.	„ xii. 43-46.

Bishop Marsh pointed out the following phenomena connected with the verbal agreement of the gospels:—

1. The examples in which all three gospels verbally coincide are not very numerous; and contain, in general, only one or two, or at most three sentences together.

2. The examples of verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark are very numerous.

3. The examples of verbal agreement between Mark and Luke are not numerous, being but eight in all.¹

The verbal coincidences are more numerous in reciting the words of Jesus, and in the reports of words spoken by others in connection with His language, than

¹ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. p. 378, etc.

in the narrative parts. This is admitted by Marsh, whose peculiar hypothesis does not account for it satisfactorily.¹ Where the evangelists speak in their own person, verbal agreement can scarcely be termed rare, as it is by Norton. It appears, at least, to such an extent in the narrative parts of Mark as to show that the mind of the evangelist, imbued with the sentiments and language of Matthew, led him naturally into his predecessor's ideas and expressions.

If the synoptic text be divided into 124 sections, as it is by Reuss, forty-seven of them are common to the three. Twelve are in Matthew and Mark, two in Matthew and Luke, six in Mark and Luke. Seventeen are in Matthew alone, two in Mark, and thirty-eight in Luke alone.

It should also be observed, that the passages in which the words of others are repeated, bear a small proportion to the narrative parts. If, for example, the gospels be separated into two divisions, the one consisting of the recital of others' words, the second of the evangelists' statements of facts, the extent of the latter will be much greater than that of the former. Mr. Norton, who carefully examined this subject, found the proportion of verbal coincidence in the narrative part of Matthew, compared with what exists in the other part, to be as one to more than two; in Mark, as one to four; and in Luke as one to ten.²

Verbal coincidences are also found in predictions from the Old Testament, though much seldomer than in the case just mentioned. This may be owing to the common use of the Septuagint version.

The observations already made imply that the differences in the gospels do not preclude the supposi-

¹ An illustration of the hypothesis proposed in the dissertation on the origin and composition of our first three canonical gospels.

² *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. cii.; additional notes.

tion that the writer of one made use of another. Both agreements and differences are consistent with mutual use, particularly the former when verbal to an extent surpassing the memory's power. Some speak of the *perfection* of the gospels, but that is contrary to their present state, as their chief discrepancies cannot be reconciled. Since more than one source and several writers were engaged in each, the gospels are incomplete, irregular, and partly unchronological.

Critics should abstain from inventing a reason for the exact place which every paragraph or part occupies; or from attributing hypothetical causes to the writers in their processes of changing, augmenting, or abridging their materials.

As long as every part of the gospels is considered historical, no advance can be made toward ascertaining their genetic origin or true characteristics. If they be assigned to the writers whose names they bear, internal evidence disproves it; for it is plain that unhistorical materials, the growth of more than one generation after the apostles, are incorporated. When it is also affirmed by Norton, that 'the Christians of the first two centuries had as great reverence for the sacred books of our religion as Christians of the present day,' the statement is unfounded. Certain it is, that Papias did not look upon them as either canonical or authoritative, for he says, 'I did not think that things out of books profited me as much as those of the living and abiding voice,'¹ implying that he set as high if not a higher value on oral tradition in regard to the evangelical history as he did upon the gospels with which he was acquainted. So too Hegesippus (A.D. 170) places the orthodoxy of the Church in its attachment to the law, the prophets, and the Lord, without allusion to a standard of apostolic writings.² It is also incorrect to assert, that Justin regarded the gospels as entitled to equal reverence with

¹ Apud Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39.

² *Ibid.* iv. 22.

the Jewish Scriptures. In quoting from the writings of apostles he never uses the phrases common in relation to the Old Testament, 'the Spirit says,' 'God speaks through them.' It was not till the second half of the second century, that the catholic Christians began to feel the necessity of elevating the four gospels which had attained general currency to the dignity and authority of canonicity, and attributing to them a value already accorded to the Old Testament. Before A.D. 160 there is no proof that Christians generally had great reverence for the first three gospels, or for the productions by which they were preceded and by whose aid they were written.

The narratives consist of the real and the ideal—the historical and mythic. The time between the occurrences and the present gospels was sufficient to allow of the growth of legends and the moulding power of fancy in connection with the original facts; so that the real events and sayings may be presented in forms more or less exaggerated, distorted, unreal; or are buried beneath later creations. A mythic haze encompasses the person, life, and discourses of Jesus; and sober criticism must set about the task of removing it reverently, respecting tradition without superstitiously adopting it. After this is done, there stands forth in colours more or less distinct, a person such as the world never saw before—the living type of an ideal humanity, pure and sinless, destined to influence all times, to purify all people among whom His name is known, and to ennoble His followers by lifting them toward the measure of His stature.

Tradition is the mother of fable. By admitting a traditional source of the gospel wholly or in part, its historical inaccuracy is allowed. If indeed the tradition existed only during the life of its authors, if it was fixed in writing before the first witnesses passed away, little time is left for mythic embellishment. But that position

is critically untenable. External evidence does not prove it, and internal is adverse. Had we even the memoirs which Mark is said to have written down from Peter, or Matthew's collection of the Aramaic discourses, it is probable that the moulding influence of tradition would appear in them; how much more in the present synoptics, which are the growth of successive recensions, the embodiment of varying traditions Galilean and Judaic, apostolic and postapostolic.

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

ALLEGED WRITER.

MATTHEW and Levi may have been different persons, though it is more probable that they were the same. The circumstances related by Mark and Luke respecting the call of Levi are so like those connected with the call of Matthew, that identity may be assumed. Perhaps after embracing Christianity and changing his mode of life, the apostle adopted a new name. Matthew, the son of Alphæus, a native of Galilee, was summoned from his employment of publican at Capernaum to be a disciple of Jesus. Few particulars of his life are recorded. It is said that he left Palestine to preach the gospel in other countries, in Arabia Felix for example, part of which was called Ethiopia, and where there were many Jews. His ascetic manner of life noticed by Clement of Alexandria, rests on an apocryphal foundation; and the accounts of his death are uncertain. According to Heracleon he died a natural death; but whether in Ethiopia as Socrates affirms, or in Macedonia according to Isidore of Seville, it is impossible to ascertain. The statement of Nicephorus that he suffered martyrdom is less probable.

FOR WHOM THE GOSPEL WAS INTENDED.

It was universally believed in ancient times that the first gospel was intended for the use of Jewish Christians. The fact is affirmed by Irenæus, Eusebius,

Jerome and others; and internal evidence favours it. The original writer presupposes an acquaintance on the part of his readers with Judea, its geography, natural productions and local phenomena, which could only have been expected of Jews. They had the temple before their eyes, with its sacrificial arrangements. They were familiar with the customs of the Hebrews, and are supposed to know the Mosaic law. The contents of the gospel, especially its citations from the Old Testament with their introductory formulas, attest the truth of our statement. Thus the evangelist writes that the institutions of the law and the prophetic writings were significant of things future till John appeared, with whom their fulfilment began (xi. 13-15).

THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH MATTHEW WROTE.

Ancient testimony is unanimous in declaring that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, i.e. Aramæan or Syro-Chaldaic, the vernacular tongue of the Jews in Palestine at the time of Christ.

Papias of Hierapolis, a hearer of John the elder, according to Eusebius, wrote a work entitled 'An Exposition of Oracles of the Lord;' ¹ and extracts from it are preserved by Irenæus and Eusebius, which are valuable at the present day. The following one from its preface, is in Eusebius: 'But I will not scruple also to put along with my interpretations for your benefit whatsoever in time past I learned well from the elders and remembered well, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the many, take pleasure in those who say much, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who record foreign commandments, but such as were given from the Lord to the faith, and are derived from the truth itself. But if any one came in my way who had been a follower of the elders,

¹ λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις.

I inquired about the discourses of the elders—what was said by Andrew, Peter or Philip, or by Thomas, James, John, Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples; and what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from *books* as from a living and abiding voice.' Again: 'Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew dialect, and every one interpreted them as he was able.'¹

Was Papias a credible witness? Eusebius states concerning him, 'He appears to have been of very weak understanding.'² This judgment rested on the fact that Papias understood certain parables of our Lord too literally, and entertained millenarian opinions to which the historian was strongly opposed. Slender abilities do not vitiate the credibility of a witness, if he possess integrity of character. When Eusebius says of Papias elsewhere, 'a man most eloquent in every respect and skilled in Scripture,'³ the words are probably spurious, since they are not in the St. Petersburg Syriac copy dated A.D. 462, nor in several Greek MSS. specified by Schwegler. Papias has given the source whence he derived his information respecting Matthew. It was John the elder; for after the historian introduces a quotation from Papias relative to Mark and his gospel, beginning with 'and the presbyter said this,' he subjoins, 'such is the account of Papias respecting Mark.' And of Matthew it has been said, 'Matthew composed,' etc. It is scarcely probable that Eusebius would have written, 'these things have been said of Matthew,'⁴ had not the information given in the quotation from Papias immediately following been drawn from the same source with that contained in the preceding quotation.

The passage quoted above shows that Papias's

¹ Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.—Ap. Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39.

² σφόδρα . . . σμικρὸς ὦν τὸν νοῦν . . . φαίνεται.

³ ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα λογιώτατος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδῆμων.

⁴ περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται.

work was an exposition or interpretation of the *Lord's oracles*; that he carefully collected oral traditions illustrative of his exposition, and that the elders who had come in contact with apostles were the principal source of those traditions. The main point is, the meaning of the *Lord's oracles*. Were they our written gospels, the canonical ones of the present day? To prove that they were, examples have been adduced from the New Testament to show that *oracles* is equivalent to *scriptures*. But such instances are of no account in the present case, because most refer to the Old Testament. It is true that the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians uses the expression 'oracles of the Lord;' but the epistle is later than the middle of the second century. Barnabas, however, is cited as a valid proof for the opinion that a gospel like Matthew's could be quoted as scripture by Papias, because his epistle introduces a quotation from Matthew's gospel by the formula *as it is written*; and if it could be quoted as scripture by Barnabas, it could surely be described as 'oracles' when Papias wrote. In answer to this we observe, that even if the writer took the words from Matthew's gospel, it is possible that he used 'it is written' with reference to their prototype in the Old Testament. Of such interchanges examples occur in writers of the second century. Barnabas's deliberate citation of a gospel as canonical is wholly improbable, since even Justin, thirty years after, never quotes the New Testament writings as *scripture*. The thing would be anomalous in the history of the first half of the second century.¹ If this be deemed unsatisfactory, the authoritative phrase, *as it is written*, probably belonged at first to a collection of Christ's sayings, of which several preceded the present gospels; and was transferred from it to the gospels themselves. The proof of 'the Lord's oracles' as synonymous with Matthew's

¹ *The Canon of the Bible*, pp. 121, 122, 3rd edition.

authoritative gospel, or of it along with other canonical ones, is nugatory.

What then were 'the oracles of the Lord?' According to Schleiermacher, the phrase, 'the oracles,'¹ denotes a collection of our Lord's *remarkable sayings* written in Hebrew; which were subsequently extended and explained by the addition of facts and circumstances belonging to time and place. The context of the passage in Eusebius shows such restriction of the word to the *discourses* of Christ and the explanation of ἡρμήνευσε to be an incorrect representation of Papias's meaning; though it is true in itself. In speaking of Mark's gospel it is said that the evangelist did not write in regular *order*² the things which were either spoken or done by Christ; to which it is immediately subjoined, that Peter gave Mark such instruction as was necessary, but not a connected history of our Lord's oracles. Here 'the Lord's oracles,'³ is explained by 'the things spoken or done by Christ.' On the other hand, the writer in speaking of Matthew says, 'He composed the oracles.'⁴

These *oracles* were a collection of the Lord's sayings. His discourses would naturally be the first thing committed to writing by his disciples and followers, in whose eyes they had more value than his acts. When Papias tells us that Matthew wrote *the logia*, he means a work which contained the sayings and some of Christ's doings closely connected with them. But how did each one *translate*⁵ the Aramæan *logia* of Matthew? The tense of the verb implies that the time was past when the Aramæan alone was current; and that one Greek translation had superseded the necessity of individual

¹ τὰ λόγια.

² τάξει.

³ τὰ κυριακά λόγια.

⁴ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. The συνεγράψατο refers to the σύνταξις preceding; and τὰ λόγια also refers to λόγια κυριακά. Peter did not recite the contents of Mark's Gospel ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων. Matthew, on the contrary, Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο.

⁵ ἡρμήνευσε.

attempts. This version recognised by Papias had supplanted the Hebrew.

Had he a personal knowledge of the *logia*? Probably not. Did he identify this document with the Greek gospel current in his day, thinking the latter to be a translation of it? If he did so, as is likely, he mistook the nature of the document, misinterpreting perhaps what his authority, John the presbyter, intended to specify, viz. a collection of the Lord's sayings.

To allege, as Dr. Salmon does, that the word *logia* implied in Papias's view *the scriptural authority* of Matthew's Hebrew gospel, and that his statement rests on a private tradition, is worthless conjecture. We are told that the bishop of Hierapolis preferred the living voice to books; and to say that the latter meant no more than works commenting on the evangelical records is to restrict the range of the writings. Papias's language implies his preference of oral traditions not only to written comments on the gospels, but even to the latter which were not canonised in his time. Since Justin does not attach canonical authority or inspiration to any part of the New Testament, the same may be said of Papias.

Had the present Greek gospel of Matthew been looked upon as authoritative in Papias's day, had it been accepted as such by the Christian world, how comes it that he gives a different account of Judas's death from that of Matthew in xxvii. 5, as we learn from Apollinarius? The discrepancy shows that Papias's Matthew was not regarded as authoritative.¹

Papias was not alone in identifying the Aramæan *logia* collected by Matthew with the present Greek gospel, assumed to be a translation of them. Some of the fathers were of the same opinion, as the following quotations show. Irenæus writes: 'Matthew among the

¹ See *Barnabæ Epistula*, edited by De Gebhardt and Harnack, ed. 2, pp. 93, 94.

Hebrews did also publish a gospel in writing, in their own language.’¹ It has been said that Irenæus adopted this opinion from Papias, for whom he had a high respect, and whom he followed in holding the doctrine of the millennium. We do not know, however, whether he believed that Matthew wrote in Aramæan merely because Papias thought so.

The third witness is Pantænus, of whom Eusebius writes: ‘Pantænus is also said to have gone to the Indians, where it is reported he found the gospel of Matthew, which had been delivered to some in that country who had the knowledge of Christ before his arrival: to whom Bartholomew, one of the apostles, is said to have preached, and to have left with them that writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, and that it was preserved among them till the time in question.’² The words of Jerome about Pantænus are similar: ‘Pantænus found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, had preached in India the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the gospel of Matthew which was written in Hebrew, and which also on his return to Alexandria he carried with him.’³

This testimony is important because it is independent of Papias. It is true that the account of Pantænus going to India was a *tradition*, since Eusebius introduces it as such;⁴ but the historian himself appears to have thought it correct. Even if it were but a *report* that Pantænus found the gospel of Matthew there, we are

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξηνέγκεν εὐαγγέλιον, κ.τ.λ.—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 1.

² ὁ Πάνταινος καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται· ἔνθα λόγος εἶρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν· οἷς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἓνα κηρύξαι, αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν, ἣν καὶ σῶζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον.—*H. E.* v. 10.

³ ‘Pantænus . . . ubi [in India] reperit Bartholomæum de duodecim apostolis adventum domini nostri Jesus Christi juxta Matthæi evangelium prædicasse, quod Hebraicis literis scriptum revertens Alexandriam secum retulit.’—*De Viris Illustr.* c. 36.

⁴ λέγεται.

not at liberty to infer the falseness of it at once. As India means Southern Arabia, the persons to whom Bartholomew preached were Jewish Christians unacquainted with Greek. Had Bartholomew made a version from the Greek, it would have been into Arabic.

Eusebius gives Origen's testimony in these words: 'The first was written by Matthew, once a publican, afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who delivered it to the Jewish believers, composed in the Hebrew language.'¹ According to Harless, this opinion must be resolved into that of Irenæus. But the most acute, and one of the most learned of the fathers, was not disposed to receive or adopt an opinion solely on Irenæus's credit. It is true that Eusebius gives Origen's words with the introduction, 'as I have understood from tradition;' but that shows the prevalent belief of the age. The tradition which he adopted was general in his day.

Eusebius himself says: 'For Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other people, delivered to them in their own language the gospel according to him,' etc.²

This testimony is valuable, and can hardly be merged in that of Papias. If the historian was opposed to millenarianism, and had but a poor opinion of Papias's abilities, it is not probable that he would have followed him in believing Aramæan to be the original language of Matthew's gospel. Had he dissented from the current belief of the age, he would not have written as he does; for while he records, he often pronounces his own opinion. Hug affirms that Eusebius gives a different view in another place. In his commentary on Psal. lxxviii. 2, we find the words, 'Instead of this "I will

¹ πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελώνην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσι, γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον.—*H. E.* vi. 25.

² Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὥς ἔμελλε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἵναί, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.—*H. E.* iii. 24.

utter from the beginning," Matthew being a Hebrew, has used his own recension: "I will shout things hid from the foundation,"¹ etc., which Hug interprets to mean, that Matthew, 'as one who was himself master of the Hebrew language, deserted the Septuagint rendering, and gave his own Greek translation,' implying that the apostle wrote in Greek. The term we have rendered *recension*² does indeed seem to mean *interpretation*; and therefore the writer is not inconsistent with himself; but we need not expect consistency in the fathers. Eusebius forgot at the time the current tradition of the day and his own expressed opinion. That his real belief was given in his Ecclesiastical History, is confirmed by the fact that in another place³ he ascribes a reading in Matthew xxviii. 1⁴ to the *translator*, adding that the evangelist Matthew published the gospel in the Hebrew tongue.

According to Jerome, the authentic gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew. 'Matthew, also called Levi, who from being a publican became an apostle, first wrote a gospel of Christ in Judea, in the Hebrew language and letters, for the benefit of those of the circumcision who believed. Who afterwards translated it into Greek is uncertain.'⁵ Thus Jerome believed that Matthew wrote his gospel in Aramæan. In the same passage, he states that the Nazaræans in Berœa, who had a copy of the original which was in Pamphilus's library at Cæsarea, allowed him to make a copy of it (*describere*).

Elsewhere he relates that he translated the gospel

¹ ἀντὶ τοῦ φθέγξομαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, Ἑβραῖος ὢν ὁ Ματθαῖος οἰκεία ἐκδόσει ἐχρήται, εἰπὼν· ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς.—Vol. v. pp. 904, 905, ed. Migne.

² ἔκδοσις.

³ *Ad Marin. Quæst. ii. ap. Mai Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. i. p. 64, etc.*

⁴ ὁψὲ τοῦ σαββάτου. The present reading is ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων.

⁵ 'Matthæus qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judea propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit. Quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est.'—*De Viris Illustr.* c. 3.

according to the Hebrews, which the Nazaræans used, into Greek and Latin.¹

The language of the authors just quoted must allude to the *logia* of the apostle. Yet it does not say that the document in question was the same with the gospel according to the Hebrews, though the inference seems legitimate; for the tradition respecting Matthew's concern with a Hebrew composition relates to the *logia*. The gospel according to the Hebrews was also written in Aramæan, and a Nazaræan tradition ascribed it to Matthew.

Does Jerome identify the two documents, the Aramæan original of Matthew and the gospel according to the Hebrews? Meyer supposes he does not, chiefly because Jerome affirms that he merely *copied* the former, and *translated* the latter. The Hebrew Matthew, he thinks, did not need *translation*, because in Jerome's time it had been already rendered both into Greek and Latin. But it is plain that the learned father translated the gospel according to the Hebrews into Greek and Latin, because he found that it had not been rendered literally. The discrepancies between it and the original seemed to require greater exactness.

Some say that though Jerome believed in the identity of the two documents at one time, he subsequently retracted the opinion, and this opinion is again advanced by Frank, who makes Jerome rejoice with hasty joy at his discovery and afterwards change.² Such retraction is thought to be indicated by the use of the phrases, 'which is called by most the authentic work of Matthew,' 'as most think.'³ It has been thought that this language implies a strong suspicion in his mind, and that though he does not expressly avow a change, he does so virtually in attributing to *the many* or to *most people*

¹ *De Viris Illustr.* c. 2.

² *Stud. u. Krit.* 1848, p. 369, etc.

³ 'Quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum; ut plerique autumant.'

what he himself once believed. We admit that the doubtful way in which he speaks about the identity of the two is found in writings posterior to those in which that identity is implied ; for the phrase ‘ called by most the authentic work of Matthew,’¹ was in his commentary on Matthew, written six years later than the treatise ‘ *De Viris Illustribus* ;’ and the expression, ‘ as most think,’² twenty-three years later, in his book against Pelagianism. Yet it is difficult to suppose that a scholar like Jerome, who had translated a document into Greek and Latin, could be so ignorant of its nature as to confound it with another work. The expressions on which his supposed change of belief is based may be explained on other grounds. Additions had been made to the document by the persons in whose hands it was preserved, sufficient to create a difficulty in the mind as to whether it really proceeded from an apostle. Though its contents agreed substantially with the Greek gospel, it exhibited deviations from it which could not be thought other than corruptions ; modifications and interpolations sometimes absurd or apocryphal. Besides, the sect that used it was considered heretical by the great body of catholic Christians ; and Jerome was jealous of his fair name and unsullied orthodoxy. To his timid mind it may have appeared hazardous to identify the document peculiar to a sect with the authentic Aramæan. Had he altered his opinion, he had every reason for saying so ; the fact that he speaks cautiously, is an indication that he did not in his heart retract a former view.

Passages from the gospel according to the Hebrews, or allusions to its statements, occur in the writings of Clement, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, Codex Tischendorfianus III. ; but they throw little light on its original identity with the present Greek gospel, because there is dissimilarity as well as likeness. The fragments

¹ ‘ *Vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum.*’

² ‘ *Ut plerique autumant.*’

suggest the belief that the original was abridged, (chapter i. 1—ii. 23 being the largest omission, at least in the Ebionite copy), added to, modified, changed till much of its primeval state disappeared. According to Handmann, of the twenty-two existing fragments eleven are in touch with Matthew, twelve with Luke, and six with Mark, but this statement is untrustworthy.¹ Is it likely that the other two synoptics contributed so much to the successive redactions of the document? Internal evidence hardly bears out the assertion.

If the fathers hesitated to identify the Gospel of the Nazaræans with Matthew's canonical one, it is not surprising; because it was almost peculiar to parties who were not Gentile Christians, because it had apocryphal passages, because Cerinthus and Carpocrates used it, and because there was a Greek gospel traditionally ascribed to the apostle. But those who did not refer the gospel according to the Hebrews to Matthew's authorship used it notwithstanding: Clement of Alexandria, who prefaces a quotation from it with a word applied to canonical writings *it is written*; ² Origen, who uses the same phraseology.³ Nor did the Greek gospel supplant the Aramæan original altogether; for Pamphilus and Jerome employed the latter; and Hegesippus had both. Even after the canonising of the Greek Matthew this document had some authority, in spite of its currency among heretics. Epiphanius evidently believed in its identity with the original Hebrew Matthew, though he had only the mutilated Ebionite copy—a fact which Weiss gets rid of in his usual way of bold assertions.⁴

The whole question of the Aramæan logia, the gospel according to the Hebrews, and Matthew's authorship of the first gospel, has been confused by the transference of *the canonical* document to the logia in their

¹ *Das Hebräerevangelium*, p. 129.

² γέγραπται, *Strom.* ii. 9, 45.

³ *Scriptum est.* *Comm. ad Matth.* xix. 19, tom. xv.

⁴ *Einleitung*, p. 495.

early adopted Greek translation; an error committed by Papias and succeeding fathers, and not peculiar to them; for modern traditionalists are equally incorrect in throwing back a later patristic use of the term *logia*. The citation of passages from Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Basil to prove the application of the term to books of the New Testament belonging to the first part of the second century is irrelevant. The true meaning of the *logia* mentioned by Papias as having been written by Matthew is a collection of the Lord's sayings; not an *authoritative* or *canonical* gospel like any of the three synoptics as they were viewed in the latter part of the second century.

The original identity of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Aramæan Matthew would be shaken, could it be shown that the former was derived from the Greek gospel.¹ But this has not been proved, though good critics have made the attempt. Some conjecture that it was an early product of tradition, others, such as Zahn, separating the Nazaræans from the Ebionites, and their respective gospels in like manner, and inclining to refer the original source of the Nazaræan gospel to Matthew, but its composition to 130–150 A.D.; while Resch supplies it with an additional source, his ‘*Urevangelium*.’² One argument for the derivation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews from ‘the Greek gospel is founded on Jerome’s statement that Barabbas was interpreted in it, *son of their master*,³ arising, as is alleged, from an error of the translator, who mistook the etymology of the Greek word Barabbas,⁴ and put for it

¹ The existing fragments are given by Anger, in his *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, with the corresponding passages of the canonical gospels, 1851; by Hilgenfeld, in his *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*, fasciculus iv.; by Mr. Nicholson, in his work entitled *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*; by Handmann, *Das Hebräerevangelium*; by Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, zweiter Band, zweite Hälfte, etc.

² See *Agrapha aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente*, p. 329.

³ ‘*Filius magistri eorum*.’

⁴ Βαβββās.

the Aramæan,¹ *son of their master.*² But the expression is perfectly correct, the Aramæan read by Jerome *Bar rabban*, i.e. son of a master or rabbi, being the same as son of a father. The *eorum* added to 'filius magistri' by Jerome seems his own pronoun. The robber's name was Jesus, to which *bar abba* is joined.³ Zahn conjectures that the clause 'filius magistri eorum' is a gloss added by a redactor of the so-called gospel; if this be the case, it is not an exact explanation of the original.⁴ Again, in speaking of John Baptist's food, the Ebionite copy had 'wild honey, whose taste was like manna, or cakes made with honey and oil.'⁵ Hence it is inferred that the author used a Greek source in which he read 'cakes' by mistake for 'locusts.'⁶ The introduction of the word arose from another cause. Whoever made the addition to 'wild honey,'⁷ by describing it 'whose taste was like manna, or cakes made with honey and oil,' had regard to Numb. xi. 8, where it is applied to the manna; and this description was annexed in Aramæan to the Aramæan of 'wild honey.' The Greek translator of the copy which Epiphanius had, looking at the Septuagint version of Numb. xi. 8, found the words 'cake of oil,'⁸ and adopted them by mistake.

The hypothesis of a Greek original of the Ebionite Gospel is inconsistent with the statements of various fathers, though it is favoured by the character of fragments whose form is apparently derivative. A true judgment of the original state can hardly be deduced from the fragments, but the evidence certainly points to a Hebrew original, as Gla has well shown.⁹

¹ בר רבבן instead of בר אבא

² *Comment. in Matth.* xxvii. 16.

³ See Handmann's *Das Hebräerevangelium*, p. 75.

⁴ *Geschichte des Kanons*, zweiter Band, zweite Hälfte, II. Abtheilung, p. 697, etc.

⁵ μέλι ἄγριον, οὗ ἡ γεύσις ἦν τοῦ μάννα, ὡς ἐγκρίσις ἐν ἐλαίῳ; see Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* xxx. 13.

⁶ ἐγκρίδες by mistake for ἀκριδες.

⁷ μέλι ἄγριον.

⁸ ἐγκρίσις ἐξ ἐλαίου.

⁹ *Originalsprache des Matthäusevangel*, p. 115, etc.

It is, perhaps, Epiphanius who has led some to believe that the gospel of the Hebrews was written in Greek at first. The two parties of Jewish Christians, Nazaræans and Ebionites, had each its own form of the primitive gospel, and the Aramæan original had been translated into Greek in the second century. It is not clear at what time the Ebionites and Nazaræans became distinct parties, though it was after Justin; and the document did not assume two forms till then.¹ The Ebionite copy of the gospel underwent considerable alteration; and as the party changed their view of

¹ The name Ebionite was given to the primitive Jewish Christians, some of whom imbibed Essene and even Gnostic views, while holding Paul to be an apostate. There were slight differences of opinion among them from the beginning, which increased after the destruction of Jerusalem, especially after the founding of Ælia Capitolina, when many united with Gentile Christians. Some were milder in their view of the Mosaic law, not insisting upon its imposition on Gentile believers; others stood firm by its absolute validity for all. This difference of opinion was associated with varying christological notions. The Ebionites were not divided into *parties* for a considerable time; certainly not in the year 138, as Schliemann supposes. Justin refers to them as one body, though he knew of different views among them. Origen, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus use the name as a common appellation for all Jewish Christians, though the first speaks of two kinds of them. They were not hereticated till the catholic Church was formed. When divided into two *parties*, the name Nazaræan, which had been originally given to all the older Christians by the Jews, reappears in Jerome and Augustine, the former of whom knew them in their retired abodes, and gives their opinions as tolerably liberal. What he says about Ebionites is only a repetition of older accounts; but we may infer from it that they were the stricter party, though he sometimes uses both appellations promiscuously, and never speaks of Nazaræans and Ebionites as two sects. Epiphanius's statements about them are confused and uncritical. The chief point respecting these Ebionites is the fact that they were originally the representatives of primitive Christianity, Jewish Christians under Essene influence who believed in Jesus's Messiahship and humanity, disowning Paul's apostleship. In the course of time their belief underwent some change. An erroneous view of the Ebionites is given by Dr. Salmon, who, with his usual depreciating language, affirms that the Ebionites were 'adepts in literary forgery,' and manufactured a new gospel of their own, using for that purpose the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and perhaps John's also; a statement in express opposition to Irenæus's, which says that they used the gospel of Matthew only. (*Hæres.* iii. 11.) Zahn's recent views of the Nazaræans and Ebionites appear to us erroneous.

Christ's person in the course of time, their form of the gospel was modified or corrupted accordingly. The Nazaræan form too was gradually changed or mutilated. We learn from Eusebius that Hegesippus had the gospel of the Hebrews in Greek and Aramæan,¹ so that it is difficult to see how that consists with Holtzmann's view of the document being made in Aramæan from the Greek Matthew by Jewish Christians in the second century. The hypothesis also clashes with Papias's testimony.

This chain of testimonies need not be followed further. Ancient witnesses are unanimous in favour of the opinion that Matthew wrote records in Hebrew, and some believed in their identity with the so-called Gospel of the Nazaræans, Papias, Irenæus, Jerome, Epiphanius; though Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia doubted it. The apostle wrote in Judea; and the fathers who furnish traditional information respecting Matthew's Hebrew gospel lived for a time in that country, with the exception of Papias and Irenæus. Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius resided in the birthplace of the first gospel. Is it not strange, therefore, that they found no trace of Matthew's writing in Greek instead of Hebrew? Was it not the interest of the catholic Church to preserve the tradition of a Greek original, since it adopted the Greek alone as canonical? When we consider that the original was in the hands of the Nazaræans, along with the opinion of various fathers that the Aramæan was Matthew's own, does it not appear unaccountable that the catholic Christians should never have adduced the hypothesis of a Greek original? All their prepossessions would have helped to prevent the true account disappearing, so that they could not even hint at the possibility of a Greek instead of an Aramæan original.

¹ ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22.

We have thus seen that the Aramæan logia formed the basis of the present canonical gospel of Matthew ; and that the gospel of the Hebrews originally coincided with the logia. The early fathers, beginning with Papias, were not *wholly* mistaken in identifying the canonical gospel with the logia. Their error consisted in taking the base in its Greek form to be the same with the fully developed gospel, until some of them got additional knowledge.

The advocates of a Greek original also reason in favour of their hypothesis, from the form of the quotations. Bleek has put the case most skilfully with this object. According to him, the citations in the gospel are of two kinds, viz. those in which the evangelist gives pragmatic indications respecting the fulfilment of expressions in the Old Testament ; and those where passages are quoted or used in the course of the narrative, as they occur in the discourses of persons who are introduced speaking. The latter are adduced according to the LXX, sometimes verbally, even in cases where the LXX depart from the Hebrew ; and sometimes with more freedom, but not in such a way as to lead to the supposition of the deviation being due to consultation of the Hebrew text. The former are adduced according to the writer's own translation from the Hebrew, departing not merely from the words but also the sense of the LXX, whose expressions are seldom seen through the passages. This class of citations certainly forms the nucleus of the gospel, because by far the greater part of the sayings of Jesus and others must have existed in the original Aramæan. If therefore they were conceived in Aramæan, why should they be given here in a form corresponding to that of the Greek version, even where it is contrary to the Hebrew text ? And if the translator took such liberty with the one class, why did he not do so with the other ? ¹

¹ *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, pp. 57, 58.

The fact that the Messianic passages are everywhere cited after the Hebrew, is obviously favourable to the hypothesis of an Aramæan original. As to the class which follows the LXX rather than the Hebrew, the argument founded upon it against an Aramæan original would be of more weight, if the canonical Greek had been derived from Matthew's authentic gospel *immediately*. But it is only the last redaction of successive translations or revisions, in all of which the original was freely handled. Why these liberties were not taken in the discourses and speeches, it is difficult to ascertain. But it is conceivable that they may have influenced the one more than the other, while a translation was being made. In the case of passages cited to show the fulfilment of prophecy, exactness is of considerable moment, and therefore they are taken directly from the original. The reason for preserving such exactness ceases in the case of passages from the Old Testament introduced into discourses; for which reason a translator might find it easier and well adapted to his object to employ the LXX. The difference of procedure in the two cases, which is not however invariable, may be accounted for by the peculiarities of both. Adherence to the original was more required in the one because it contained proof or argument.

The prevalence of the Greek language in Palestine has been urged by Hug and his followers as evidence of Matthew's writing in Greek. No valid argument has been adduced to show that Jesus and his apostles habitually spoke Greek instead of Syro-Chaldaic. Nor can it be shown that the latter dialect was *supplanted* by the former, among the Jews and Jewish Christians in Palestine, before the destruction of Jerusalem. All evidence goes to prove that the persons for whom Matthew wrote used Aramæan as their vernacular tongue. It is true that Greek was also employed in Judea at the time. But it did not prevail over the

other. Josephus wrote his history of the Jewish war at first in Hebrew or Aramæan, which he calls *native language*; ¹ and afterwards rendered it into Greek, which is termed Ἑλλας γλῶσσα.² The latter he calls a foreign dialect,³ in relation to himself and his countrymen. His Greek edition was intended for 'those who were under the Roman dominion,' i.e. for Greeks and such others throughout the Roman dominion as used their language. The historian does not mean his Jewish brethren in Palestine, as the context shows. If then Josephus terms Syro-Chaldaic his *native tongue* as contrasted with Greek to which he applies a *foreign dialect*,⁴ which of the two would Matthew writing for the use of his countrymen naturally choose? Even granting that the natives of Palestine were as familiar with Greek as they were with Aramæan, would he prefer a foreign dialect to a native one—to that which was best fitted to procure a favourable hearing? We do not deny that Greek circulated in Palestine in the age of Christ and the apostles. But there is abundant evidence to show that Aramæan *prevailed*, as we infer from the fact that the Septuagint did not supersede the original Hebrew in popular estimation, in Palestine. When therefore it is considered that Matthew, as a Jew, wrote a gospel for the use of his brethren in Palestine, it is reasonable to conclude that he would employ the language for which they had a predilection. And this is attested by the early fathers.

The exact relationship of Matthew's to the Greek gospel that bears his name is uncertain. Jerome says that the person who translated the Aramæan original was unknown. The apostle himself was not the translator; and the supposition that he published two works, one in Aramæan and another in Greek, is baseless. It is equally conjectural to assert that some of his friends

¹ πατριος γλῶσσα.

³ ξένη διάλεκτος.—*Antiq. Procem.* 2.

² *De Bello Judaico*, Procem.

⁴ ξένη καὶ ἀλλοδαπὴ διάλεκτος.

or disciples rendered the Hebrew gospel into Greek with his sanction or approval. Were the latter hypothesis worth a moment's notice, the question might still be asked, What evidence exists for identifying the present Greek gospel with the version of the friend or disciple? Should it be said that he *composed* the Greek gospel rather than translated, the assertion would be equally unfounded. Apologists have indulged in many assumptions of the strangest sort: for example, that the Aramæan and Greek gospels existed for some time in their important parts as an oral tradition side by side; that the Aramæan was the first committed to writing, circulating chiefly among the Jewish Christians in Palestine; and that the Greek oral gospel, its counterpart, was afterwards put into a written form when the Hellenistic Jews felt the want of it. The latter was made in the time of the apostle, probably under his eye or even by himself!

No tangible evidence connects *the present* gospel with the apostle Matthew. The oldest witness in favour of such relationship is a fragment from Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis (A.D. 180), who says that the Quartodecimans, as they have been called, appealed to Matthew for their view of the paschal supper being on the fourteenth of Nisan, which can only mean that they referred to the present Greek gospel.¹ In what manner or from what cause the canonical Greek came to be assigned to the apostle cannot be determined. The most probable reason is, that it bears relationship to the authentic Aramæan; not that of a version, since the marks of a version are wanting, but of a work founded upon the latter. It is unlikely that Jerome would have translated the Gospel of the Hebrews, which he identified with the Aramæan of Matthew, had the Greek canonical gospel which existed in his day been a simple version of the same original. Hence it is probable that the present

¹ *Chron. Pasch. Alex.*, ed. Bonn, vol. i. p. 14.

Greek gospel was *based upon* the Aramæan of Matthew, or in other words, the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Having originated in the latter, the name of the apostle was transferred from the older to the more recent document, by those who had little if any knowledge of the process of derivation. The steps by which it arose out of the Aramæan are unknown. Different translations had preceded it, enlarged more or less by traditional materials, just as the Aramæan itself received corrections in its transmission. Oral sayings, apocryphal narratives, mythic elements, furnished the final redactor with materials; and he proceeded to put the whole into a shape which commended itself to the catholic Christians as far superior to the imperfect and fragmentary Greek gospels which preceded. The latter probably retained more of the character of versions, though indifferent ones; versions that ceased to represent the original faithfully because of their looseness as well as their omissions and additions, while the former lost the nature of a version under the plastic hand of those who moulded it into its present form by removing several peculiarities and substituting more. In the absence of definite information, the critic must be contented with such presumptions. The canonical Greek is the outcome of preceding gospels resembling it in substance, but neither so comprehensive nor so well digested. Ecclesiastical writers, who lived so long after the apostle's death that they could know nothing certain about Matthew's connection with the Greek gospel, were ready to receive it as his; for they were uncritical enough to believe things which have not the support even of credible tradition. If, therefore, it be objected that there is no external evidence for various recensions or redactions of the first gospel, it may be said with equal truth that there is no external evidence to show that Matthew wrote it. Besides, the Gospel according to the Hebrews was one form of the canonical gospel, so that external evidence is not wholly wanting

on behalf of one recension at least. We allow that the 'oracles,' as Papias terms Matthew's composition, must have been a record of what Jesus said; that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had early departed from primitive simplicity, being added to or altered; and that the canonical Greek, compared with it, is substantially another work.

One thing is certain, that the gospel of the Hebrews was highly valued by some early fathers, because they identified it in some measure with the canonical gospel they possessed; not from acquaintance with its real nature, for it had well-nigh passed into obscurity. In modern times Lessing, Niemeyer, and Weber believed it to be the basis of the apostolic gospels. It is impossible to tell its extent; but we know from the stichometry of Nicephorus, that a Greek translation of it had 2,200 *stichoi*, the canonical Matthew having 2,500, and Mark 2,000.¹ Even Nicephorus does not put it among the apocryphal books of the New Testament, but among the antilegomena as Eusebius also does.

APOSTOLICITY.

The following phenomena in the gospel are adverse to its having been composed in its present state by an apostle and eyewitness and therefore to its being an exact version of a gospel written by Matthew.

1. It contains unhistorical and mythical elements, the most palpable example of which is in xxvii. 52, where we are told, that at the expiration of Jesus the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints who slept arose, came out of their resting-places after the resurrection of their Lord, and even went into the holy city, appearing to many. This passage may have been taken from the Acts of Pilate.

Again, the narratives in xxvii. 62-66, xxviii. 11-15,

¹ Credner's *Geschichte des N. T. Kanon*, p. 242, *et seq.*

respecting the setting of a watch at the sepulchre and the bribing of them, is historically improbable. The chief priests and Pharisees could not have known of Jesus saying that he would rise again after three days, because he did not foretell this in an intelligible way even to his disciples (xvi. 21). Had the women known of the watch being set at the sepulchre, they would not have confined their attention to the rolling away of the stone and the anointing of the body. And the conduct of the Sanhedrists is unaccountable in instructing the soldiers to spread a false report, instead of calling them to account for their delinquency. It is not likely that they would have acted towards Pilate as is represented; or that he would have been satisfied with their representation. These stories also may have been taken from the Acts of Pilate.

The legendary incidents connected with the birth and infancy of Jesus also point to a later time than that of Matthew. The star in the east guiding the wise men from afar to the house in which the babe was, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocents in Bethlehem by Herod, are unhistorical. The advent of the Messiah has an oriental colouring. A mythic haze surrounds it.

2. Some things are put in a wrong order and are therefore chronologically incorrect. Thus the sermon on the mount, which is intended for an inaugural discourse, is placed too early. Its delivery not only before the immediate disciples of Jesus, but a large multitude of people assembled to hear, implies that Jesus had exercised his ministry for a considerable time and attracted the attention of the multitude to himself, so that their minds were prepared to some extent for a discourse of comprehensive morality. The passages in it which imply that Jesus was the Messiah, v. 17 and vii. 21-24, are anticipative, as we infer from xvi. 17. To have announced himself as the Messiah so early

would have been contrary to his cautious and gradual introduction of the idea, especially as the minds of his hearers were unsusceptible of it at the time.

In like manner, the charge of Jesus to the twelve in x. 19, etc., is introduced too soon, the disciples being told that the Son of man should come again to set up his kingdom before they had gone over the cities of Israel. Thus his second advent is announced as just at hand. If the discourse here be not out of place, it is inconsistent with xxiv. 14, where the second advent is spoken of as a much later event. Either supposition does not harmonise with the apostolic composition of x. 19, etc., or its correct reporting.

3. Things are related in a way which shows the mixture of later tradition. Thus the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew speaks first of the destruction of Jerusalem; and, from the twenty-ninth verse, of the coming of Messiah immediately after, which was not fulfilled. Here the signs and wonders preceding the destruction of Jerusalem do not correspond to facts. False Messiahs did not appear then; nor did any important wars take place, as is intimated in the sixth and seventh verses of the chapter. Köstlin,¹ in his successful attempt to disprove Baur's reference of the chapter to the time of Hadrian rather than the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, has failed to show that all the traits suit the latter period.

4. Other particulars are wrongly narrated, as is the case with the miraculous feeding of the four thousand men in the wilderness very soon after a similar event. (Compare xv. 32-38 with xiv. 16-21.) One thing is doubled, the facts being substantially the same, and the minor circumstances alone different. The disciples of Jesus who had witnessed the feeding of five thousand men recently and under like conditions, would hardly

¹ *Der Ursprung und die Composition der synoptischen Evangelien*, p. 113, et seq.

have been so forgetful or thriftless as to ask, 'Whence should we have so much bread in the wilderness as to fill so great a multitude?' In like manner, the same transaction is repeated in xii. 22-30 and ix. 32-34, which passages are so similar that we must assume a double narrative of the same event. A similar repetition of the same thing appears in xvi. 1, where the event in xii. 38 is re-enacted. In the former place we are told that the Pharisees and Sadducees asked of Jesus a sign from heaven, when it is improbable that two such opposite parties should have united in presenting the same demand. The Sadducees were persons not likely to join with the Pharisees either in this matter or others. The number of these duplicates is considerable, so much so as to show carelessness, forgetfulness, or needless accumulation of material. Any one who compares the following list of passages will scarcely attribute it to an apostle's pen: ch. v. 29, etc., and xviii. 8, etc.; v. 22 and xix. 9; x. 38, etc., and xvi. 24; xii. 39 and xvi. 4; xiii. 12 and xxv. 29; xix. 30 and xx. 16; xx. 26 and xxiii. 11; xxiv. 42 and xxv. 13; x. 17-22 and xxiv. 9-14.

Again, Jesus is represented as riding into Jerusalem on two animals, an ass and a colt, which has arisen from misunderstanding the prophecy referred to (xxi. 2, 7, compared with Zech. ix. 9). Nor is this the only instance in which the sense of a passage in the Hebrew Scriptures has been turned aside to make it apply to Jesus; or in which the narrative has been modified to suit a supposed prediction. In Zechariah only one animal is alluded to, named in two parallel members,¹ which is converted into two in xxi. 2, 'an ass and a colt *with her*;' a phrase excluding Meyer's idea that the *and* in xxi. 7, 'an ass *and* a colt,' is epexegetical.

Again, in xii. 39, etc., the writer puts an erroneous

¹ עֵר and חֲמֹר.

interpretation of the disciples into the mouth of their master in the fortieth verse; for the allusion to the resurrection of Jesus is foreign to the original connection as well as to the view with which the preceding and subsequent verses were spoken. Jesus did not mean that *his resurrection* was a sign to the generation then alive but *his preaching*. This corresponds with the sign of Jonas the prophet to the Ninevites; which was not his abode in the fish according to Luke xi. 29-31.

The words which Jesus addressed to the apostles after his resurrection (xxviii. 19, 20) savour of a later time. In the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles baptism is always *into the name of Christ*, or *into Christ*. Such seems to have been the early mode of initiation; but when later reflection unfolded a peculiar relation of Christ to the Father and the Spirit, the formula became 'into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,' which is not original and belongs to the second century. It occurs in Justin Martyr's first apology. Had Jesus given such command, all the gospels would not have passed it over except the first in this single passage. A Jewish act is thrown back into the post-resurrection days of Jesus, in a later christianised form.

From xxviii. 9-20 we see that every appearance of the risen Saviour to the disciples in Judea is excluded, and only one Galilean manifestation implied. This shows post-apostolicity, because such personal intercourse with the disciples does not consist with the original idea of the resurrection and ascension being coincident. The Galilean appearance, however, accords with the fact that the first gospel follows Galilean tradition in confining the ministry of Jesus to that land.

Again, the narrative of the temptation of Jesus assumes a historical shape, as if an outward and real

occurrence were recorded. Though meant by the writer for history, it cannot be accepted as such. Thoughts suggested to the mind of Jesus were transformed by tradition into objective history. In any case, the thing did not happen as it is described. Though it has a basis of fact, the narration is unapostolic.

5. Some things partake of a character so marvellous as to exclude the idea of their description by an eye-witness. So in xvii. 27, respecting the piece of money in a fish's mouth provided for tribute. The miracle seems to be unnecessary, since a stater might have been procured in the usual way. Nor did Jesus ever work a miracle for himself. Besides, it is not said that the piece of money was actually found in the mouth of the fish. The accomplishment is not noticed, as on other occasions. And while it is certainly possible that the piece of money may have been in the fish's mouth—for cases of this sort have occurred—it is not probable that the money would have been there ready for use rather than in the stomach. The miracle is gratuitous.

Such are the surest evidences of non-apostolicity in the first gospel, and they are not the only ones that might be adduced. Others will appear in our subsequent analysis of the contents to confirm the post-apostolicity of the present Greek gospel. In pursuance of the same object, some critics adduce particulars in the other gospels disagreeing with the first; but it is a precarious thing to insist upon them. The reasoning which gives the preference to the accounts of Mark, Luke, or John, and judges of parallel accounts in Matthew accordingly, is liable to suspicion. We do not say that all particulars in the first gospel are more correct than those in the other synoptics; but many of them are. Sometimes the original tradition is preserved by Mark or Luke, when a later is given by Matthew; as in xxvii. 34, where the drink offered to Jesus is

vinegar *mingled with gall*, which he would not drink because of its bitter taste ; whereas Mark says it was mingled with *myrrh*, to produce intoxication and ease pain. The tradition respecting the gall is a later one derived from Psalm lxix. 21, which converts the draught into a manifestation of enmity instead of compassion. But such cases are comparatively few, not invalidating our general principle, which is strikingly exemplified in the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew, where nothing is said of the mode in which Jesus was parted from his disciples, and it is only implied that he had gone to the Father. This idea was subsequently developed. It is a weak argument to adduce the want of graphic description in one who was an eye-witness like Matthew. The power of vivid description is a talent which does not depend on an external call. The nature of Matthew's occupation was unfavourable to vivid painting. We could not expect much of the picturesque from a collector of taxes. The graphic power of accomptants is usually feeble. At all events, natural talent is not changed but only elevated by inspiration. If the writer had not the gift of picturesqueness before he became an apostle, he did not get it afterwards.

As to the sources of the gospel, if it be true that Matthew wrote brief Aramæan *oracles* or *discourses*, he used few written compilations, but drew from Galilean traditions and actual knowledge. The case of him who put the Greek gospel into its present shape is different, for he had written sources more or less copious ; and Greek paraphrases of the original Aramæan. He consulted independent collections of gospel facts, for in no other way can duplicates of the same thing be explained, the second of which could have been introduced only out of a written source, not from oral tradition. Thus the present gospel is based on the Aramæan document written by the apostle and on smaller collections, along

with unwritten tradition. That the epistles of Paul were probably used follows from the universalist elements superimposed on the Petrine basis, in which the Gentiles are supposed to be received into the kingdom of heaven, and the Jews excluded. There is no proof that the redactors used Mark's present gospel. Yet it is often assumed, so that Weiss makes Matthew little more than a copyist or secondary redactor, with the additional allegation that he sometimes misapprehended or was even led astray by Mark, as in the case of the two miraculous feedings. The shortest account of Jesus's life is not necessarily the oldest. That the *logia* were written prior to Mark is admitted by Weiss and others; and as they contained the chief things of interest to the early Christians, they were read, translated, expanded, soonest and most eagerly, becoming the gospel-nucleus, the oldest synoptic tradition. Pfleiderer agrees in part with Weiss in making the gospel secondary and inferior—a harmonistic compound made from Mark and Luke. It is not easy, however, to assign the respective portions of the present gospel to their sources; though earlier and later, historical and unhistorical materials may be occasionally distinguished. The writers selected and added, not without a theological bias that shaped the materials, especially the Old Testament passages, which are systematically turned aside from their original meaning to show Jesus as the Messiah. A Greek collection of discourses or sayings written by the apostle Matthew is destitute of all historical basis. Ancient testimony is unanimous in favour of its being composed in Aramæan. In all inquiries into the sources of the gospels, the statements about those sources need sifting. The chief thing is to get the tradition they embody as pure as possible. But even when the language of all the synoptists coincides, the exact truth may have been obscured by later views or settings, the result of reflection and imagination, of superstitious reverence, or of

credulity. The triple tradition, however valuable, does not necessarily present authentic sayings or actual deeds.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The gospel may be divided into three parts, viz. the introductory history, chapters i.-iv.; the Messiah's ministry in Galilee, v.-xviii.; the conclusion of his work, and his death at Jerusalem, xix.-xxviii.

The first portion contains the genealogical register of Jesus and his birth in Bethlehem; the circumstances connected with his birth, such as the visit of the Magi, the flight to Egypt, and the return to Nazareth. This is followed by the public appearance of John and the baptism of Jesus. The fourth chapter describes his temptation and entrance into public life.

There is little doubt that the first two chapters always belonged to the present Greek gospel, since they are found in all unmutated MSS. and ancient versions. The earliest fathers had them in their copies as part of the work. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, attest their existence. So do the early heretics, Cerinthus and his followers, Celsus, and Porphyry. Their diction is of the same character with the rest of the gospel. But the question is, Were the chapters in the Aramæan *logia* of Matthew? The portion was wanting in the Ebionite copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as Epiphanius testifies. Did the Ebionites cut it off because they denied the miraculous conception of Jesus? Epiphanius leads us to believe that they mutilated and corrupted the gospel; and his testimony may pass for what it is worth. The same father, in saying of the Nazaræans that they had the gospel in its fullest form or entire in Hebrew, probably warrants us to conclude that their copy had these chapters; and Jerome's comments on Habbak. iii. 3 and Isai. xi. may justify the inference. Epiphanius

is an untrustworthy writer. As a matter of fact, however, his testimony respecting the commencement of the Ebionite recension with the third chapter of the present Greek may be accepted. He says of Ebion (who, however, was a myth) that he declared Christ to be the son of Joseph and Mary, just as Cerinthus and Carpocrates did, on the ground of the same gospel. Origen distinguishes two classes of Ebionites, one acknowledging Christ to be born of a virgin, the other not. Following internal evidence, we should be disposed to say, that the chapters did not belong to the original *logia*. Their contents hang loosely together, and do not agree well with other parts of the gospel. The supernatural birth hardly agrees with the genealogy; and the latter terminates in Joseph without expressing a direct connection between him and Jesus. Though the writer intended to give the latter's genealogy, he breaks off abruptly, without specifying the proper link between him and Joseph. The evangelist seems to have adopted a written account, instead of composing the chapters out of oral tradition. If so, he altered the words of the sixteenth verse, to make suitable room for the introduction of the supernatural generation of Jesus; thus severing the proper link of connection between the preceding and following parts. Of what use was it to trace the descent of Jesus from David and show his Messiahship, if He had not a natural father? The first two chapters are largely imbued with the traditional. The ideas expressed respecting the generation of Jesus Christ, the visit of the Magi, the appearance of the miraculous star that guided them, the conduct of Herod towards them, the slaughter of the infants in Bethlehem, and the flight into Egypt are but symbols of certain ideas. The supernatural conception is the legendary symbol of a spiritual nature superior to the characteristic type of humanity. It is improbable that an apostle would have set forth such relations as historical. They are too

early for his time. The inward vision and hearing at the baptism are related in an objective way. As it is the evangelist's manner to present mental phenomena in a sensuous aspect, so does he portray in the present instance the consciousness which Jesus had of dedication to a great work.

The temptation is described in the same manner, though it was but an inward struggle followed by victory. It will be observed that in the 3rd chapter John's knowledge of Jesus's Messianic character before the act of baptism disagrees with xi. 3.

The 4th chapter, giving an account of the temptation, narrates it, as has been just said, in the form of an outward historical fact; for such expressions as 'the devil taketh him up,' 'the devil setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple,' etc., imply nothing else. This is followed by a rapid outline of the proceedings of Jesus, that the author may come to the full history of the Messianic ministry.

The second division of the gospel begins with the sermon on the mount, which is a sort of programme of the Messianic kingdom founded by Jesus. This discourse is orderly and connected in the first part of it. The development is simple and the sequence natural. The essential contents appear to be original and direct, leaving an impression of freshness on the mind that cannot be mistaken. A pure ethical spirit free from religious dogmatism breathes throughout; showing that the truths taught came from the moral consciousness of one who had the loftiest, as well as the simplest, ideas of the absolute, in practical ethics. Mosaism is lifted up into a spiritual essence; the law inculcates a pure morality. The principles enunciated, unsustained by argument or authority and in the form of simple assertion, are left to stand self-supported, with a sublime confidence in the majesty of truth. Jesus appears as the reformer of the law, giving it a higher significance

than the Pharisaic or even the original one. Without abolishing he sublimates it. But though the substance of the discourse be original, it has received its form and position from a redactor who has brought together utterances of Jesus belonging to different times. The general outline is genuine; but cognate elements are introduced to expand and fill out the discourse. This view is supported by the fact, that Luke and Mark distribute in different places various sentences in the connected sermon of the first gospel. It is also confirmed by the circumstance, that the discourse is wrought into a whole, whose parts however are but loosely fitted. Such compilation is adverse to the idea that the sermon is given here as it was spoken, a view corroborated by the circumstance that there is no proper connection between the parts after vi. 19. In proportion as the sermon exhibits plan and purpose, as a whole and in separate parts, is its originality impaired. It formed a considerable part of the *discourses* which Matthew wrote; but it is against probability that it was spoken as we have it and at the commencement of Jesus's ministry. Its true position is later, when the minds of the disciples were better prepared for spiritual truth. Luke places it later; and though we cannot assign the preference to his record, either in form or originality, the time he assigns to it is nearer the truth. The sermon as presented in the first gospel is *relatively* not *absolutely* original. The extent, the regular development of ideas, the unity, the logical arrangement, especially in the first part, the palpable evidence of plan, show the influence of later reflection. The form is less original than the contents; though some of these have been imported into the discourse out of other times and occasions. Thus the words in chapter v. 17-20 were not uttered by Jesus, but are the interpolation of a Jewish Christian writer. They were never appealed to by the Judaising

party, though authoritative in their favour. Jesus consciously overpassed the ceremonial law; notwithstanding the assertions of Keim and Weiss that he held to the law in its entirety. And it is utterly improbable to say with Schenkel that Jesus expresses in v. 18-19 the conviction of his adversaries. Again, when Paulinism had weakened the claims of the law among Christians, those who adhered to the old Judaic Christianity attempted to make it more rigid, and put into authentic discourses remarks directed against Paulinism, as those in vii. 13-20. Jesus had respect to the spiritual import of the law rather than its external observance; and he could not have pronounced him to be great in the kingdom of heaven who conformed to the minutiae of legal and ceremonial observances.¹

In like manner, the addition of *in spirit* to 'the poor' in v. 3, is unauthentic on the lips of Jesus. Luke's report is right, and the Essene sentiment original. The three verses appended to the seven beatitudes (v. 10-12) also belong to the evangelist, not to the speaker. Notwithstanding these and other additions, the report of the sermon is substantially correct.

This great discourse so fully recorded in Matthew's gospel is often depreciated, in spite of its author and excellence. Thus one reckons it among the *earthly things*, not *the heavenly*, with which Christ commenced as he 'looked forward to the coming of the Comforter to complete what he had thus begun.' This view subordinates the teachings of Jesus to those of the epistles, because they have not the distinctive doctrines of sacrifice and atonement which are supposed to constitute *the gospel* or essence of Christianity. The worth of the opinion is not great in the eyes of such as attach more weight to the doctrine of the master than to that of his

¹ Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, vol. i. p. 607, etc., and Feine in the *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theol.* 1885, p. 25, etc.

disciples. Paulinism is metaphysical and mystic in comparison with the popular and practical lessons which Jesus taught; it is a system elaborated out of Judaism by peculiar mental processes.

Weiss denies the ethical character of the sermon on the mount, or that it contains the sum of Christianity according to Jesus's design. In our view it is a spiritual interpretation of the law, in which righteousness and love predominate, pure moral maxims, and social democracy, a kingdom in which all should receive their rights. The precepts are partly expressed in hyperbolic language because they were preparatory to the coming kingdom. As that kingdom was to be a sort of ideal community, a life of transcendent amenity was best fitted to inaugurate its advent. The time was short until the new order of things should appear, and the children of God enjoy a social fellowship hitherto unknown.¹

The sermon on the mount is followed by a series of miraculous works which Jesus performed in Galilee, viii., ix. 38. The cures related and the miracles performed follow one another in rapid succession. After pronouncing a long discourse, the Saviour is represented as engaged almost entirely in wonderful cures, without distinct or considerable intervals of time. We cannot well resist the conclusion that the evangelist groups together a number of operations to make a portrait of Jesus's Messianic agency. That such was his object is perceptible from bodily and spiritual states of derangement being equally represented as the subjects of cure; from the calling of Matthew being inserted in the series; from the brief forcible sayings in viii. 18-22; but especially from viii. 17, 'that it might be fulfilled which was

¹ The explanation of v. 17-48 elaborated by Pfeiderer is unsatisfactory, because it takes the whole from Christ and gives it to the evangelist, who being a Jewish Christian is supposed to have had his eye upon Gnostic Paulines of the second century. See *Urchristenthum*, p. 492, etc.

spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses.' Jesus was to fulfil the Old Testament predictions respecting the Messiah's operations. The evangelist groups a series of facts which present Messiah in close contact with humanity, the Son of man compassionating the condition of his brethren and ministering to their wants. This gives another aspect of Jesus as the Messiah; not so much the ethical reformer introducing a kingdom of righteousness, as a sympathising brother entering into the peculiar circumstances of men and raising them from wretchedness to comfort. That the section owes much to the writer can scarcely be doubted by those who compare it with the sermon on the mount, which also partakes of the grouping character belonging to the present portion, as well as the summary introduction of the sermon, 'and Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people,' etc. etc. (iv. 23-25). The summary owed its present place and character to the evangelist's desire to get at once to the inaugural discourse of Jesus; after which the general assertion is resolved into its details. The writer acts freely in setting the instances of the Messianic operation in rapid succession, that they may give a connected picture. He does not stay to specify times or places. The outward connexion of the wonderful works performed evinces the reporter's subjectivity and reflection. Many statements in these chapters are inserted by Luke in other and original connexions. Not all, however, though Pfleiderer thinks so. For example, Matthew's omission of the second miracle (chapter viii.) which Luke describes immediately after the healing of the centurion's servant (vii. 11, etc.), does not show the originality of Luke's account. Chapter ix. 27-31 anticipates xx. 29-34 to justify the words that follow in xi. 5

about the blind seeing. The event in both is the same.

The case is similar in ix. 32-34, which is identical with xii. 22-24, to prepare for the words 'the deaf hear' in the latter passage; dumbness being connected with deafness.

A new section begins with the 10th chapter. After Jesus says in ix. 37, 38, 'the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest,' the labourers are called and sent forth to the work, with a series of instructions respecting their conduct. The form of these instructions is artificial, since several are not appropriate to the first mission of the apostles but are derived from a later period. This is plain from the sixteenth and following verses of the 10th chapter, where the evangelist has put together things which Jesus communicated to the disciples throughout his whole ministry.

The 11th and 12th chapters open up the further and wider progress of Jesus's ministry, especially the effects which it produced. Its results appear more marked, resolving themselves into adoption or recognition of his Messianic claims. The message of John the Baptist gives occasion not only to speak of the person and ministry of his forerunner, but of his own reception; while he upbraids the cities in which he had wrought mighty works because of their unbelief. He expresses his conscious, spiritual union with the Father, in virtue of which he cheerfully acquiesces in all the divine arrangements; and acknowledging that his mission would be believed in only by such as the Father had specially enlightened, he addresses a compassionate call to men to avail themselves of his aid.

The 12th chapter represents Jesus in conflict with the Pharisees, and his severe language against them. The collision was caused by the disciples plucking ears

of corn on the Sabbath, and also by the cure of a blind and dumb man, which the Pharisees attributed to Satanic agency. One thing in the chapter has naturally arrested the attention of critics, viz. the charge of Jesus to the multitudes not to make him known (12, 15, 16). In the midst of publicity, while he performed remarkable cures openly and was in collision with the Pharisees, it is stated that he withdrew for the sake of privacy and enjoined the multitudes, who nevertheless followed him, not to speak of him and his deeds openly. The present is not the only place in the first gospel where such prohibition is recorded (see viii. 4; ix. 30). It is not so strange, however, at an earlier period, when he had not attained great publicity or been thrown into controversy with the Pharisees on account of his works. Here the prohibition is inappropriate. The evangelist himself appears to have felt so when he introduces a passage from Isai. xlii. 1-4, which he applies to the Messiah, as if a leading feature of his character were calmness and noiselessness, the absence of ostentation, the exhibition of a modest retirement, a quiet consolation which lodges in the minds of men with refreshing power. The inference is unavoidable that such prohibition on the part of Jesus was not uttered now, since it disagrees with the context in which it stands. The evangelist's adaptation of Isai. xlii. 1-4 to the Messiah is foreign from the true sense of the passage; though he must have looked upon the description as Messianic.

The 13th chapter contains a group of parables, representing one aspect, the most attractive and influential, of the teaching of Jesus. Though the entire series is narrated as if spoken at one time, this is improbable. The parables were uttered on different occasions, and are unhistorically put into a connected group. The teaching of Jesus in Nazareth, recorded in xiii. 53-58, is identical with that of Luke iv. 16-30, though the latter places it too early. Chapters xiv.-xvii. contain

a succession of events and circumstances, without any close connection. The narrative of Herod beheading John the Baptist; the feeding of five thousand persons; Jesus's walking on the sea; his cures in the land of Gennesaret; his conflict with the Pharisees, originating in the question about washing of hands; his discourse to the disciples, showing that what they should be most anxious to shun is moral and spiritual, not ceremonial, impurity; the interview with a Canaanitish woman; the feeding of the four thousand, which is merely a duplicate of a preceding occurrence in xiv. 17-21; the demand of the Pharisees for a sign, and the discourse respecting Sadducean and Pharisean leaven; Peter's confession, the transfiguration, the healing of a lunatic, and the narrative respecting the piece of money found in the mouth of a fish, constitute a loosely linked series. But the final catastrophe approaches. The opposition of the Pharisees and Sadducees becomes more intense, so that Jesus repeatedly announces his death and resurrection to the disciples (xvi. 21, etc.; xvii. 22, etc.)

The so-called transfiguration, standing at the beginning of the 17th chapter, describes an internal vision, not an objective event, which was meant to assure the disciples that Jesus's approaching death coincided with the law and the prophets of the Old Testament; and that he should come again in majesty. The narrative, evidently modelled after Moses's ascent of Mount Sinai, presents a visionary scene which was not less real to the apostles than one beheld with the bodily eyes. The pictorial adjuncts are legendary; the basis is the inner vision.

The 19th chapter opens up a new epoch in the personal history of Jesus; for he is represented as leaving Galilee for Judea. On this journey he came into collision with the Pharisees respecting divorce and celibacy, blessed little children, had a conversation with a rich youth, and spoke of the rewards awaiting those who

made sacrifices for the kingdom of heaven's sake. To this is appended the parable of labourers in a vineyard, which is peculiar to the first gospel. The request of Zebedee's sons shows how inadequately the minds of the apostles were prepared for the Messianic kingdom. Approaching Jericho, he healed two blind men.

The 21st chapter describes his entry into Jerusalem, the evangelist evidently knowing nothing of his stay in Bethany; his purification of the temple, and cursing of the fig-tree, which is unhistorical because contrary to the well-known character of the teacher. At the twenty-third verse of this chapter, a question of the Sanhedrists put to him respecting his authority, leads to three parables in which his opponents are aimed at; the breach between both becoming more open, sharp, and decided. The 22nd chapter begins with the third parable representing the rejection of the unbelieving Jews and the admission of the Gentiles, followed by an entangling question of the Sadducees respecting the resurrection, and one proceeding from the Pharisees about the greatest commandment in the law. After these, Jesus asked them how the Messiah could be both David's lord and David's son.

Verses 34-40 relate the same thing which appears in Mark (xii. 28-34) and Luke (x. 25-37); but the last passage describes the occurrence under other circumstances, and in connection with a parable.

In the 23rd chapter, Jesus speaks openly against the scribes and Pharisees, a class of men who had lain in wait for him a considerable time. His denunciation of them is characterised by a tone of stern displeasure, consistent only with the idea that he looked upon them as involved in hopeless and irreconcilable hostility to the gracious purposes of God. The chapter concludes with a valedictory address to Jerusalem of the most mournful character.

The 24th chapter contains a prediction of the de-

struction of Jerusalem, with the downfall of the Jewish state and Jesus's second coming immediately after. This eschatological discourse harmonises with the sermon on the mount in regard to freedom of composition. That Jesus could not have spoken as he is represented, is apparent from the remarkable passage in the Apocalypse respecting the fate of Jerusalem, where it is said that for three years and a half the city should be trodden down by the Gentiles, but the temple spared, the rest of the city being neither possessed nor destroyed by the heathen; unless we suppose that the Apocalypse was written not by John, but by a writer who could not have heard Jesus foretell the event. One thing is pretty clear, that not till after the catastrophe which befell Jerusalem—a catastrophe which none of the early Christians foresaw—did any of the synoptists seek to have it plainly foretold by the Saviour.

The chapter before us raises a grave question. Did Jesus believe that he would return in a visible form to inaugurate his reign as Messiah? His discourse here, and many other sayings reported by the synoptists, especially Matt. x. 23; xxiii. 36, 39; xxiv. 34; xxvi. 64, contain an explicit prediction of his speedy return to preside at the judgment of mankind. But it may be said that he who transformed the contemporary Messianic ideas so radically, enunciating the spirituality and gradual growth of the new kingdom, could not have apprehended his Messianic dignity under the crass form of current Judaism; that in speaking of the future, he used the figurative language of the Old Testament, and was misapprehended; and that the disciples alone supposed he would return in a visible form to inaugurate his reign and judge mankind. Doubtless the eschatological discourses which connect the fall of Jerusalem, the destruction of the temple and the end of the world, have been added to and revised, partly because of an imperfect apprehension of the imagery employed. Here

a small Jewish-Christian apocalypse has been assumed to help the idea that Jesus could not have expressed such sentiments as those in the gospel—a document written about A.D. 68. The hypothesis is a questionable one, and without evidence. Why should xxiv. 4–34 be singled out for the purpose supposed? The contexts at the beginning and end do not indicate it. And then the same apocalypse must have been followed by Mark and Luke, interspersed with exhortations supplied by tradition. That Mark's representation is taken from Matthew's follows from various indications, especially from xiii. 10 compared with Matthew xxiv. 14.

The opinion that Jesus did not predict his second coming in the crass way which the synoptists present, but in a spiritual form veiled under Jewish imagery, which his hearers did not rightly understand, is substantially that of Hase, Colani, and Scholten. But whatever allowance be made for misapprehension or hope on the part of the apostles and others regarding the person and sayings of Jesus, it is difficult to eliminate from his recorded words a belief in his speedy return; since the attempt to do so involves a denial of the truth of many parts of the gospels. Are we to pronounce these unauthentic? Do not almost all the New Testament books present the doctrine of his speedy return?¹ Was not the early spread of Christianity chiefly owing to the belief in the Messiahship of Jesus with which his return was closely connected because of his lowly appearance and death? As we are not prepared for the sweeping denial of so many statements uttered by Jesus, we are shut up to the conclusion that he himself and the earliest Christians, conscious that he was the Messiah, believed in his immediate return. One passage is sufficient evidence of this: 'Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come' (Matthew x. 23); language which cannot be explained

¹ See Mark viii. 38, xiv. 62.

of Jerusalem's destruction, nor attenuated into a spiritual return, since neither suits the circumstances of the case or the character of the first gospel. As the looked-for event was delayed more and more till all the apostles except John were dead, the notion arose that the last of them might live to witness it. Hence the saying mentioned in the fourth gospel (xxi. 22, 23).

Several parables follow, inculcating watchfulness and preparation for the approaching judgment; that of the faithful and the wicked servants, of the ten virgins, of the talents, and a description of the Messianic judgment. The sufferings, death, and resurrection are described in the last three chapters.

The concluding words of the gospel, containing a formal commission to the eleven to carry the glad tidings of salvation to the heathen and to baptize, are a later interpretation of the mind of Christ. Though he did not himself enjoin a universal mission and baptism—a fact indirectly indicated by putting the command into the mouth of the risen Christ just before his ascension—Christian consciousness ascribed to him the comprehensive principle. That the gospel should be preached to all nations and baptism be the introductory mode of admitting them into the Church, are precepts that enlarge his teaching.

The general contents of the gospel seem to be historical, and the course of events natural. Artificial combination on the part of the evangelist, or transpositions and transmutations, both chronological and material, are not absent. No doubt some portions are dislocated, and have not their proper connection. But the usual succession appears to be probable. One thing strikes the reader, viz. the grouping together of discourses or parables which were delivered at different times. Thus the seven parables in the 13th chapter could not have been spoken in immediate succession; though the evangelist gives one to understand that they

were. After depicting the ministry of Jesus in Galilee, the close of it in Judea is distinctly described. It is divided into two periods, a Galilean and a Judean one. Yet plausible objections have been made to the contents, derived especially from the other gospels. If Luke and Mark be considered independent documents having an authority of their own, the originality of Matthew is lessened. Or if they deserve the preference where they deviate from Matthew, the correctness of the last is damaged. But we believe that the first gospel, being the oldest, is the principal source of the other synoptists. The critic should be cautious about setting the accounts of Luke and Mark above those of Matthew, or attacking the historical credibility of the first gospel by the help of the second and third. The only legitimate ground on which Matthew's gospel can be assailed is itself. The principle of grouping has influenced the character of the narration. What distinguishes the gospel most is its peculiar pragmatism or development. It has certainly mythical elements. As the traditional had sufficient time to mould and modify facts before the canonical gospel was written, the historical credibility of certain parts is impaired. Both form and substance are coloured with the legendary. Had we the original Aramæan discourses, some of the hazy element which soon gathered round the evangelical materials would disappear. It is useless, however, to speak of what is irrecoverable. The present Greek gospel being a growth, and having been written above half a century after the events which it narrates, was affected by the influences of an uncritical age as also by the convulsive changes that shook the world of Jews and Gentiles, filling men's minds with fear. The only criterion we have for separating the genuine from the non-historical is the interpreter's own sagacity.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL.

1. There are two elements in the gospel, of distinct and opposite tendency, the Jewish Christian or primitive Ebionite one which regarded the new religion as a reformed stage of the old, accepting the Messiahship of Jesus and the pure morality he proclaimed; and a liberal element which viewed the Gentile world as the soil of Christianity. The latter acquired predominance after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, when the field of the world was opened up to the new religion, and Judaism received its death-blow. These particularist and universal elements interlace one another; evincing different writers and times; so that the composite gospel can only be apprehended after a careful survey of each. The authentic work of Matthew consisted of Jewish Christian parts; those with a liberal tendency were posterior. The ground-work was not left in its original state but was subjected to revision. If we had the *logia* or the gospel according to the Hebrews in its first condition, the extent of such revision would appear; but fragments alone remain, and even they are valuable in indicating the changes which later hands made in the original document.

The first revision was effected by the translator of the Aramæan work, who added various particulars; the last belongs to the canonical evangelist himself. Between the two, there may have been others; for we cannot think that all the additions and changes proceeded from the final redactor. Hilgenfeld, who assumes no intermediate reviser between the old Greek gospel cognate to that according to the Hebrews and the canonical evangelist, assigns much more to the latter than we can assent to. Thus he gives him the fourteenth verse of the 24th chapter: 'And this gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations;' words implying a later time than

Hilgenfeld's date of the present gospel (A.D. 67) and a more enlarged mind than one that tolerated in the preceding context, 'many false prophets shall arise,' *if* these misleading teachers were Paulines as he supposes them to be.

The authentic portions written by the apostle Matthew in Aramæan are often perceptible. Other parts cannot be assigned to their respective authors. All that can be done is to indicate such as belong to a time soon after the destruction of Jerusalem and those near the close of the first or the beginning of the second century.

Examples are the best proofs of the gospel's composite character. The sermon on the mount (v. 1–vii. 12) was a prominent element in the primitive document. So were parts of the eschatological discourses in chapters xxiv., xxv. Ch. i. 18–ii. 23 is an addition, though belonging to the apostolic time. Ch. xxviii. 18–20 is one of the latest parts, which must be put after the age of the apostles because it has an incipient Trinity.

The Gentile Christian or Pauline part is often made to subserve the general purpose of showing that Jesus is the Messiah foretold in the Old Testament, and that the main incidents of his life are foreshadowed there. The revisers' advanced views cannot be mistaken. Jesus is the Saviour not only of the Jews but of the Gentiles; and the heathen world pays him its homage. The covenant people are to be rejected for their opposition to the son of God.

We shall illustrate these prominent characteristics at greater length.

(a) The gospel has a more Jewish aspect than the other synoptics. This is not owing wholly to the Aramæan basis, for Jewish Christian revisers would naturally retain its primitive complexion in the additions and changes they made.

Jewish nationality is most observable in xv. 24, where Jesus says that he was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; in x. 5, where the twelve apostles are forbidden to go among the Gentiles or the Samaritans; and in xix. 28, where the twelve are promised twelve thrones, on which to sit as assessors along with the Messiah, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. The same tendency also appears in the genealogy that reaches up only to Abraham; in the undue stress laid upon works of the law (xii. 33-37; xix. 17); in the exaggerated sanctification of the Sabbath (xxiv. 20); in Jesus being styled King of the Jews (ii. 2); the local and temporal modifications of the second advent (x. 23; xvi. 28); the general eschatology which makes the end of Israel synchronous with that of the present world (xxiv. 3, 22; x. 23), the regeneration of the twelve tribes being the object of the present dispensation (xix. 28). A literally valid authority is attributed to the law, under the new dispensation (v. 18, 19). These verses are interpolated. The supremacy which Jesus assigns to Peter, in making him the foundation of the church, harmonises with the primitive Jewish type of the gospel, though it is not authentic; and the keys of the kingdom of heaven correspond. How unlikely that the apostle should have been called Satan immediately after his exaltation! (xvi. 17-19). The Petrine statements are counterbalanced by a less favourable one; and the authority given to Peter in the nineteenth verse is afterwards extended to the whole community (in xviii. 18).

(b) As Christianity came to be apprehended in its spirituality and extent, the phases through which the original document passed took off from its Judaism by wider views. Successive additions gave it greater breadth because Christians were gradually arriving at the conviction that the new religion was intended to embrace Gentiles as well as Jews, and to leaven mankind with higher principles than those embodied in the

Old Testament. Hence the present Greek gospel embraces materials of different times and varying character, the separation of which is bound up with the credibility of the narratives. The original gospel according to the Hebrews may itself have had some non-Judaistic elements, especially where Jesus is the speaker at a certain stage of his ministry. Even in its primitive form Christianity must have had a principle capable of enlargement. Paul had also preached to the Gentiles before the canonical gospel appeared, and had openly announced a divorce between the old and new religions. Most of the passages where the Gospel presents an ethical universalism belong to a later time, such as that in which we read of the elect being gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, the elect including Jews and Gentiles. But in xv. 21-28, where the heathen woman is praised for her faith, the narrative is original.

The comprehensive character of the gospel is exemplified in xxiv. 14, xxviii. 19, even in opposition to the unbelieving people of promise (viii. 10-12, xx. 1-16, xxii. 1-14). The history of the Canaanite woman exalts the heathen; and Jesus declares that he did not find so great faith in Israel as among them (xv. 28, viii. 10). The curse that should come on the Jewish people (xxvii. 25); the threat that the Kingdom should be taken from them and given to the Gentiles (xxi. 43); the heathen's first salutation of Jesus as King of the Jews (ii. 11-12); the value attached to the moral and religious element of the law (xxii. 40, xxiii. 23), and the history of the birth of Jesus, counterbalance the particularistic element. The principles of the divine Kingdom are said to be unfolded in the natural way by gradual growth (xiii. 30-33); which is contrary to the passages that depict the closing scene of the present age as near, and inaugurated by the sudden appearance of the Redeemer in his glory (x. 23, xvi. 28, xxiv. 30). In some places,

an ascetic influence appears (xix. 12); in others, the ascetic constraint is represented as adverse to evangelical freedom. Thus the Judaic basis is overlaid with larger ideas. Ebionite Christianity receded before other conceptions; and the notions entertained of the Founder's person as well as of his teachings, tinged as they were with Judaic crassness, gave place to other beliefs.

2. Another characteristic of the first gospel is its frequent allusion to passages in the Old Testament. The fulfilment of the Old in the New is never lost sight of. It is assumed that the Messianic person and character of Jesus were shadowed forth in the Old Testament. Sometimes the citation is made for the sake of the history to which it is adapted. Thus in i. 22, we read that the birth of Jesus from a virgin took place in order that Isaiah's predictions in vii. 14 might be fulfilled. Micah is said to have foretold his birth in Bethlehem, Matt. ii. 6. Jesus must fly into Egypt that Hosea xi. 1 might be accomplished. Here the history is accommodated to the nature of the citation. When Joseph returned from Egypt with the child and took up his abode in Nazareth, it was that the prophetic saying, 'He shall be called a Nazarene,' might be fulfilled. The same reference to the Old Testament is prominent in the 27th chapter. The Messiahship of Jesus was an object present to the evangelist's mind, so that he adapted old prophecies and parallels to recent events.

3. The arrangement of materials in the gospel is generally regular. Although time does not appear to have been a leading principle, it is commonly observed. Thus it is usually noticed *at what time or on what day* an event happened or a discourse was held. Indications of time are either general, *in those days* (iii. 1); *at that time* (xi. 25; xii. 1; xiv. 1); or special, such as *in that day* (xiii. 1; xviii. 1; xxii. 23); *after six days* (xvii. 1); *while he spake these things* (ix. 18; xii. 46); *as they*

went out (ix. 32); *as they departed* (xi. 7); *when he was come into the temple* (xxi. 23). To the latter belong the transition-phrases, *when Jesus heard that John was delivered up* (iv. 12); *when he was come down from the mountain* (viii. 1); *when he entered into Capernaum* (viii. 5); *when he came into the house* (viii. 14); *passing thence*, etc. etc. The usual particle of transition is *then*,¹ which occurs ninety times. Chronological arrangement is the rule to some extent; and no other gospel could be taken as the basis of a harmony with so much propriety. The grouping together of various sayings and facts has interfered but little with the proper sequence; so that arrangement according to subject-matter and to chronological succession harmonise. Indeed, the notices of time often interrupt the flow and thread of the narrative, showing that they were an object of the writer's attention. Thus the story of the Magi is introduced by the words, 'Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea,' as though nothing had been said before about the birth of Jesus. The beginnings of sections have usually notices of time, often in connection with place. It must be admitted, however, that the proper succession is not always attended to. But the exceptions prove the rule, so that Bishop Marsh, following Eichhorn, was right in preferring Matthew's order to Luke's or Mark's, though the basis on which he grounds it is the incautious statement that the apostle, being an eye-witness of the facts recorded, must have known the time in which each of them happened; a statement applicable perhaps to the Aramæan groundwork, but incorrect in relation to the canonical gospel.

LEADING OBJECT.

The leading object of the final redactor has been anticipated in the preceding paragraph. It has been

¹ τότε.

said that he was influenced by a Judaizing tendency, which is but partly correct. It was certainly not his intention to portray the kingly character of Christ ; nor is the tone throughout kingly and majestic, as has been said. He is as far as possible from looking at things in a grand, general aspect, indifferent to details ; or from sacrificing time and place to groups of discourses, parables, or miracles. Simplicity is observable in the work, not grandeur ; while time and place are sacrificed less than in the other synoptics.

The general purport of the work was to show that Jesus was the Messiah promised to the Jews. It had a didactic purpose, viz. to strengthen Jewish Christianity. Christ is set forth not in opposition to the Mosaic law but as establishing its legitimate claims and bringing out its true meaning. His doctrine is set above the Pharisaic apprehension, not above the proper signification of the law. This design appears in the quotations from the Old Testament, and in the turn given to parts of the old history that they may suit the life of Jesus. Former events are typical of later ones, such as the sojourn in Egypt, the exodus, and the Sinaitic legislation. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the historical narrative is sometimes shaped by a writer who regards the ministry of Jesus as meant for his own people. In conformity with this design, the discourses show a preference for what relates to the Jews and their law. The gospel exhibits a Christianity springing out of Judaism as a divine system testifying to the Messiah who should redeem his people. The work was not written at first in the interest of a Jewish Christian party distinct from Christians of a freer tendency, but in their interest when they were themselves of the church. It was meant for the use of the Jewish Christians generally, to promote their faith. The writer shows them that the Messiah had come, that the prophetic Scriptures were fulfilled in Jesus, and that they should emancipate themselves

from traditional interpretations of the law. Jesus assumes an attitude of hostility to the scribes and Pharisees, to the chief priests and Sadducees, confronting and refuting their traditions; but he never denounces the law itself. But as the gospel is a growth, not a homogeneous composition, it is not pervaded by one tendency. Successive revisers widened it; and the final redactor interwove liberal among Ebionite statements, so that Pauline mingling with Petrine elements have modified the original Ebionism. Pffeiderer supposes that the religious consciousness of the catholic church in the first half of the second century finds its classic expression in Matthew's gospel. It has, he asserts, a catholicising character. Such a description is exaggerated. Instead of being harmonising and secondary, with a very few particulars inserted perhaps from the gospel according to the Hebrews, its basis is Jewish Christian. A strong bias adverse to the evangelist runs through the *Urchristenthum*; and the original purpose to write a biography of Jesus, showing him to be the Messiah, almost disappears.

TIME OF WRITING.

The question as to the time when the gospel was written hardly admits of a definite answer, because of the way in which the work originated. Matthew wrote the substance in Aramæan; that was translated into Greek, and received additions, modifications, and changes, till it assumed the present form, the Greek canonical gospel. Hence the indications of time, if such there be, are different. Some belong to the original and are early; others proceeding from revisers are late. A work which attained its present state by various steps cannot exhibit evidence of a single date.

It is probable that Matthew wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem. Irenæus testifies that the

gospel originated after A.D. 60 and before A.D. 70, 'when Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church in Rome.' But Peter did not lay the foundation of the church in Rome; for it had been planted nine or ten years before. Bishop Marsh thinks that the verb *to found*,¹ as used by Irenæus, means no more than *to build up* or *confirm*, not to lay the first foundation; which is contrary to the obvious sense. The testimony of Irenæus is precarious. Though he belonged to the second century, and had better means of knowing the truth than succeeding writers, his statements must be judged by their inherent probability. He is so far correct as to make the apostle write after A.D. 60 and before the destruction of Jerusalem. Various parts of the gospel which presuppose the existence of the life of the people in Palestine (viii. 4; x. 23; xxiii. 2), etc., and of the temple-worship (v. 23; xvii. 24-27; xxiii. 16, etc., 21), agree with this.

The 24th chapter has been appealed to more than any other part in determining the date of the gospel. But its exegetical difficulties detract from the weight of its evidence. That the prophecy refers to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus is clear, notwithstanding Baur's opinion. Three particulars are observable—the *beginning of sorrows*, the *actual destruction of the city and temple*, and the *return of the Messiah in glory*. The last is said to be *soon after*² the destruction of Jerusalem, which creates perplexity, especially in connection with the thirtieth verse. So does the word *generation* in the thirty-fourth verse,—which must be referred to the contemporaries of Jesus; not to a period of about 100 years, as Baur and others understand it. The general description shows that it was written at the commencement of the disasters which befell the Jewish nation and terminated in its downfall, i.e. between A.D. 66 and 70. The section embracing verses 4-35 can hardly be

¹ θεμελιώω.² εὐθέως.

earlier than A.D. 67. Amid the calamities connected with the destruction of the metropolis, the signs of the Messiah's coming here given, false Messiahs, earthquakes, disastrous wars, persecutions causing many Christians to apostatise, did not occur, but are projected from a later period, and even put into the mouth of Jesus as predictions.

An expression twice used in the gospel, *until this day* (xxvii. 8; xxviii. 15), implies a considerable interval between the event and its record; probably twenty years.

In addition to other notices, some refer to xxiii. 35, identifying Zechariah there mentioned with Zechariah son of Baruch, who was slain in the temple about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, as Josephus relates. Others, supposing that the true reading is what the gospel of the Hebrews had, 'Zacharias son of Joiada,' identify him with the Zechariah mentioned in 2 Chronicles xxiv. 19-24.

These and other internal marks do not fix the exact date of the present Greek gospel. The words of Papias imply that it was in circulation before he wrote, though he did not rely upon it, choosing to trust to oral tradition for 'what Matthew said.' The baptismal formula, which was unknown to the apostolic age, points to the second century. And xvi. 18, 19, indicates a later date than 67 A.D.; for though the verses are of a strongly Jewish type, the word *church*, and the hyperbolical terms employed in giving the apostle Peter spiritual power, suggest a time when the Jewish Christians had witnessed the extensive growth of Paulinism and were embittered against it. The noun *church*, which the Ebionites avoided, is transferred from Paulinism to Petrinism. It does not occur in the other gospels, and is employed in its posterior sense of *the church universal*. The exaltation of Peter as *the rock of the church* was not even in the Diatessaron of Tatian, who dealt freely

with the four documents and omitted it; though it is possible that the words were not in the gospel till after his time. In like manner xviii. 17 and its context presuppose an ecclesiastical organisation posterior to the overthrow of Judaism.

If we could tell the precise dates of the epistles of Barnabas and Clemens Romanus, we should come near the truth. The epistle of Clement does not recognise the existence of the gospel. If it were written, as Köstlin supposes, between A.D. 90 and 96, the gospel would be later. But that date is not well established; as is evident from the fact that Volkmar makes it A.D. 125. The epistle of Barnabas perhaps recognises the gospel's existence,¹ since there is an allusion to Matt. xx. 16, in the fourth chapter; though a peculiarity about this quotation neutralises the evidence it would otherwise give.² The epistle was written A.D. 119. The gospel may be dated about 105 A.D.

The place of the final redactor (perhaps also of some of his predecessors in the process) was probably Asia Minor; where Jewish were thrown among Gentile Christians. Though the readers principally addressed belonged to the former class, they may have sometimes needed the explanation of Hebrew terms, such as Immanuel, Golgotha, the words spoken by Jesus on the cross, etc. Had they been still in Palestine, or even east of the Jordan, these interpretations would have been unnecessary. It is unlikely that they proceeded from the final redactor, because he was a Paulinist. And we cannot agree with Weiss in thinking that 'the polemic against Gentile Christian licentiousness repeatedly intro-

¹ Comp. c. v. with Matt. ix. 13, xxvi. 13; c. xix. with Matt. xix. 19.

² The citation, which is also in the Clementine Homilies, may be taken from an apocryphal gospel, even though it has the prefix *γέγραπται*, *it is written*. That such prefix is no certain test of a canonical passage appears from the two Clements, who use it of extracanonical words having their source either in memory or some other than an existing gospel. See Clem. Rom. i. 46, 1, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 8, 53.

duced into the discourses of Jesus' speaks in favour of a Jewish Christian living amidst later Gentile corruption. The words said to be interpolated (such as vii. 22, f. xiii. 41, xxiv. 12) were probably uttered by Jesus himself; and cannot with propriety be called *polemic*.

The place where the Aramæan original appeared was Judea.

STYLE AND DICTION.

The language of the gospel is more Hebraic than that of the other three, which accords with the fact of its derivation from an Aramæan original.

1. The usual formula prefixed to passages cited from the Old Testament to prove the Messiahship of Jesus is, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet' (i. 22; ii. 15); which is abbreviated or varied in later chapters (ii. 17; iii. 3; iv. 14; viii. 17; xii. 17; xiii. 35; xxi. 4; xxvi. 56; xxvii. 9). The formula *τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα κ.τ.λ.* is particularly deserving of notice (i. 22; xxi. 4; xxvi. 56). In these and similar citations, the expressions *ῥηθεῖς, ῥηθέν, ἐρρήθη* (*διὰ*) nineteen times, are peculiar to Matthew.

2. The expression 'Son of David' is applied to Jesus nine times. In Mark and Luke it is less frequent.

3. Jerusalem is called 'the holy city' and 'the holy place' (iv. 5; xxiv. 15; xxvii. 53).

4. The phrase *συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος*, *end of the age* or *dispensation*, occurs five times. The only other example of a similar phrase is in the epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 26).

5. 'Kingdom of heaven' is a favourite expression of the gospel, as it occurs thirty-two times. The other synoptists have *kingdom of God* instead. The latter however occurs in Matt. xii. 28; xxi. 31, 43.

6. 'Heavenly Father' is used five times; and 'Father in heaven,' sixteen times.

7. *κατ' ὄναρ* occurs six times.

8. *προσέρχεσθαι* and *πορεύεσθαι* are used in the oriental manner by way of expanding a discourse (iv. 3; viii. 5, 19, 25; ix. 14, 20; xiii. 10, 27, 36, etc., ii. 9; ix. 13; xi. 4; xvii. 27, etc.). The former occurs fifty-one times; but in Mark it is used only six times, and in Luke ten times.

9. *σφόδρα* is always put after a verb (ii. 10; xvii. 6, 23; xviii. 31; xix. 25; xxvi. 22; xxvii. 54). It occurs but once in Mark and in Luke.

10. *τότε* is the usual particle of transition. It occurs ninety-one times; but only six times in Mark, and fourteen in Luke.

11. *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε* (vii. 28; xi. 1; xiii. 53; xix. 1; xxvi. 1). Luke has *ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο*.

12. *ἕως οὗ* occurs seven times. Luke has oftener *ἕως ὅτου*.

13. *ποιεῖν ὡς, ὥσπερ, ὡσαύτως, καθὼς* commonly with *προσέταξεν* or the like (i. 24; vi. 2; xx. 5; xxi. 6; xxvi. 19; xxviii. 15). Luke employs *ποιεῖν ὁμοίως* and other expressions.

14. *τάφος* occurs six times. The other evangelists never use it, but either *μνήμα* or *μνημεῖον*, the latter being also in Matthew.

15. *συμβούλιον λαβεῖν* (xii. 14; xxii. 15; xxvii. 1, 7; xxviii. 12).

16. *ἰδοῦ* after a genitive absolute occurs nine times. In introducing something new, *καὶ ἰδοῦ* is employed.

17. Adverbs are usually put after the imperative. *οὕτως* is an exception.

18. *προσκυνεῖν* takes the dative case ten times, the accusative but once. Mark also has the dative; Luke and John oftener the accusative.

19. *ὁμνύω εἰς* or *ἐν* is a Hebraism not used by the other evangelists.

20. *λέγων* frequently occurs without the dative of a person; vii. 21 is an exception.

21. Ἱεροσόλυμα is always the name of Jerusalem, except in xxiii. 37.

22. ὁ λεγόμενος is a favourite expression in announcing names or surnames, being used of Christ (i. 16 ; xxvii. 17, 22), of Matthew (ix. 9), of Peter (iv. 18 ; x. 2), of Caiaphas (xxvi. 3), of Iscariot (xxvi. 14), and also of names of places (ii. 23 ; xxvi. 36 ; xxvii. 33).

23. 'Now the birth of Jesus was thus' (i. 18) ; 'now the names of the twelve apostles are these' (x. 2), introduce sentences peculiar to the gospel.

24. εἰπεῖν τι κατὰ τινος, v. 11 ; xii. 32.

25. Matthew prefers adding 'of the people' to the scribes or elders, ii. 4 ; xxi. 23 ; xxvi. 3, 47 ; xxvii. 1, to which there is some approach in οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ (Luke xix. 47), and τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ (Luke xxii. 66).

26. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, x. 41, 42 ; xviii. 20 ; xxviii. 19. The other evangelists have ἐν and ἐπί.

27. πᾶς ὅστις, vii. 24 ; x. 32 ; xix. 29. Luke has πᾶς ὅς.

28. ἀκούσω for ἀκούσομαι, xii. 19 ; xiii. 14, 15.

29. μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, xi. 23 ; xxviii. 15, and ἕως τῆς σήμερον, xxvii. 8, peculiar to Matthew.

30. οὗτος γάρ is peculiar to Matthew iii. 3 ; vii. 12 ; xi. 10. Luke has κατὰ ταῦτα γάρ twice, and ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι once, while Mark has εἰς τοῦτο γάρ ; but neither has οὗτος γάρ. Similarly οὕτως γάρ is peculiar to Matthew : ii. 5 ; iii. 15 ; v. 12.

31. The preposition ἀπό is a favourite with Matthew, even after verbs with which other New Testament writers connect ἐκ, as after ἐγείρεσθαι (xiv. 2 ; xxvii. 64 ; xxviii. 7), and διεγείρεσθαι (i. 24).

32. Verbs in εὔειν are favourites with Matthew, as μαθητεύειν, δεσμεύειν, ἐπιγαμβρεύειν, παγιδεύειν, ἀγγαρεύειν, etc.

33. ἀναχωρεῖν occurs ten times ; in Mark but once, and only three times in the New Testament besides.

34. ἐπάνω nine times. Mark has it but once ; Luke five times.

35. ἡγεμών ten times. Mark has it once and Luke twice.

36. ὅπως eighteen times. In Mark twice, in Luke seven times.

37. συνάγειν twenty-four times. In Mark five times and in Luke seven.

38. ὕστερον seven times. Mark has it once and Luke twice.

39. φρόνιμος seven times. Luke has it twice.

40. The following are peculiar to the gospel : ἀγγεῖον, ἄγκιστρον, ἀθῶς, αἷμα δίκαιον, αἰμορροεῖν, αἰρετίζειν, ἀκμήν, ἀκριβοῦν, ἀναβιβάζειν, ἀναίτιος, ἀνηθον, ἀπονίπτειν, ἀργύρια (plural), ἄρτι, Βάρ, βασανιστής, βαττολογεῖν, βιαστής, δάνειον, ὁ δεῖνα, δέσμη, διακωλύειν, διαλλάττεσθαι, διασαφεῖν, δίδραχμον, διέξοδος, διετής, διστάζειν, δυλίξειν, διχάζειν, διψᾶν, ἐβδομηκοντάκις, ἔγερσις, ἐγὼ κύριε, ἔθνικός, εἰδέα, εἰρηνοποιός, ἐκλάμπειν, Ἐμμανουήλ, ἐμπορία, ἐμπρήθειν, ἐνθυμῆσθαι, ἐξορκίζειν, ἐξώτερος, ἐπικαθίζειν, ἐπισπείρειν, ἐρεύγεσθαι, ἐρίφιον, ἐταῖρος, εὐδία, εὐνοεῖν, εὐνουχίζειν, εὐρύχωρος, ζιζάνια, θαυμάσιος, θεέ (vocative), θηριστής, θησαυροί (plural elsewhere only in Hebrews xi. 26), θυμοῦσθαι, ἰῶτα, καθηγητής, καταθεματίζειν, καταμανθάνειν, καταποντίζεσθαι, κῆτος, κόλασις (elsewhere only in 1 John iv. 18), κουστωδία, κρυφαῖος, κύμινον, κώνωψ, μεταίρειν, μαλακίαι, μαθητεύειν, μεταμέλεσθαι, μετοικεσία, μισθοῦσθαι, μύλων, νόμισμα, νυστάζειν (also in 2 Peter ii. 3), οἰκετεία, οἰκιακός, οὐδαμῶς, παγιδεύειν, παραθαλάσσιος, παρακούειν, παρομοιάζειν, παρουσία, παροψίς, πελαγος (only in Acts xxvii. 5 besides), πλατύς, πολυλογία, πρᾶος, προσφέρειν δῶρον, προφθάνειν, πυρράζειν, ρακά, ραπίζειν, σαγήνη, σείειν, σεληνιάζεσθαι, σιτιστός, σμύρνα, στατήρ, συναίρειν λόγον, συνάντησις, συναυξάνεσθαι, συντάττειν, τάλαντον, ταφή, τελευτή, τηροῦντες *a watch*, τραπεζίτης,

τρύπημα, φράζειν, φυλακτήριον, φυτεία, χαλεπός, χλαμύς, χρυσός, ψευδομαρτυρία, ψύχεσθαι.¹

QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

†i. 23	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah vii. 14.
*ii. 6	.	.	.	.	.	Micah v. 2.
†ii. 15	.	.	.	.	.	Hosea xi. 1.
†ii. 18	.	.	.	.	.	Jeremiah xxxi. 15.
*iii. 8	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah xl. 8, etc.
*iv. 4	.	.	.	.	.	Deuteronomy viii. 3.
*iv. 6	.	.	.	.	.	Psalms xci. 11, 12.
*iv. 7	.	.	.	.	.	Deuteronomy vi. 16.
*iv. 10	.	.	.	.	.	Deuteronomy vi. 13.
†iv. 15, 16	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah ix. 1, 2.
*v. 5	.	.	.	.	.	Psalms xxxvii. 11.
*v. 21	.	.	.	.	.	Exodus xx. 13.
v. 27	.	.	.	.	.	Exodus xx. 14.
†*v. 31	.	.	.	.	.	Deuteronomy xxiv. 1.
†*v. 33	.	.	.	.	.	Levit. xix. 12; Deut. xxiii. 23.
*v. 38	.	.	.	.	.	Exodus xxi. 24.
*v. 43	.	.	.	.	.	Leviticus xix. 18.
viii. 4	.	.	.	.	.	Leviticus xiv. 12.
†viii. 17	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah liii. 4.
*ix. 13	.	.	.	.	.	Hosea vi. 6.
x. 35, 36	.	.	.	.	.	Micah vii. 6.
xi. 5	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah xxxv. 5; xxix. 18.
*xi. 10	.	.	.	.	.	Malachi iii. 1.
xi. 14	.	.	.	.	.	Malachi iv. 5.
xii. 3	.	.	.	.	.	1 Samuel xxi. 6.
xii. 7	.	.	.	.	.	Hosea vi. 6.
†xii. 17-21	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah xlii. 1-4.
xii. 40	.	.	.	.	.	Jonah i. 17.
xii. 42	.	.	.	.	.	1 Kings x. 1.
*xiii. 14, 15	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah vi. 9.
†xiii. 35	.	.	.	.	.	Psalms lxxviii. 2.
*xv. 4	.	.	.	.	.	Exodus xx. 12, and xxi. 17.
*xv. 8, 9	.	.	.	.	.	Isaiah xxix. 13.
xvii. 2	.	.	.	.	.	Exodus xxxiv. 29.
xvii. 11	.	.	.	.	.	Malachi iii. 1; iv. 5.
xviii. 16	.	.	.	.	.	Deuteronomy xix. 15.
xix. 4	.	.	.	.	.	Genesis i. 27.
*xix. 5	.	.	.	.	.	Genesis ii. 24.
*xix. 7	.	.	.	.	.	Deuteronomy xxiv. 1.
*xix. 18	.	.	.	.	.	Exodus xx. 12, etc.
xix. 19	.	.	.	.	.	Leviticus xix. 18.
†xxi. 5	.	.	.	.	.	Zechariah ix. 9.
xxi. 9	.	.	.	.	.	Psalms cxviii. 25, 26.

¹ *Theologische Jahrbücher*, by Zeller, vol. ii. p. 445, *et seq.*

*xxi. 13	. . . . .	Isaiah lvi. 7; Jeremiah vii. 11.
*xxi. 16	. . . . .	Psalms viii. 3.
*xxi. 42	. . . . .	Psalms cxviii. 22, 23.
*xxii. 24	. . . . .	Deuteronomy xxv. 5.
*xxii. 32	. . . . .	Exodus iii. 6, 16.
*xxii. 37	. . . . .	Deuteronomy vi. 5.
*xxii. 39	. . . . .	Leviticus xix. 18.
*xxii. 44	. . . . .	Psalms cx. 1.
*xxiii. 38	. . . . .	Psalms lxix. 25.
*xxiii. 39	. . . . .	Psalms cxviii. 26.
*xxiv. 15	. . . . .	Daniel ix. 27.
xxiv. 29	. . . . .	Isaiah xlii. 10.
*xxvi. 31	. . . . .	Zechariah xlii. 7.
xxvi. 64	. . . . .	Daniel vii. 13.
†xxvii. 9, 10	. . . . .	Zechariah xi. 13.
xxvii. 35	. . . . .	Psalms xxii. 19.
xxvii. 43	. . . . .	Psalms xxii. 8.
xxvii. 46	. . . . .	Psalms xxii. 1.

The citations marked thus (†) are of the first class referred to by Bleek, in which the evangelist indicates the fulfilment of Old Testament statements, and cites independently of the LXX from the Hebrew text; departing in most instances not only from the words but the sense of the Greek version. Those marked thus (*) belong to the second class, in which the LXX are mostly followed, either verbally even where they deviate from the original as in iii. 3, xlii. 14, etc., or with a freedom which did not arise from consulting the Hebrew.

Three of the first class correspond exactly to the Hebrew text, viz. ii. 15; viii. 17; xlii. 35. Four refer mainly to the Hebrew, but show a partial influence of the LXX upon them—ii. 18; iv. 15; xii. 17–21; xxi. 5. One agrees with the Septuagint, i. 23. Few of the second class show any dependence on the Hebrew. xi. 10 corresponds to the original; ii. 6 shows a predominating influence of the same; and xxii. 24 exhibits a subordinate influence in the use of a verb.

Some of the citations cannot be properly placed in either class, owing to their peculiarities or generality. This is not surprising in the case of those interwoven

with the sermon on the mount, such as v. 31, 33, because they are not taken from the law but from Pharisaic tradition.

The citation from *the prophets* in ii. 23, seems to allude not only to Isai. xi. 1 but also to Jerem. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15; Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12. There is a double meaning in the epithet *Nazarene*, *the sprout* or *branch*, and *of Nazareth*. The evangelist indulges in a Jewish midrash, which has a mystical sense beneath the obvious one.

The canon of Bleek respecting the quotations does not hold good in all instances. It is not correct to say, that all those which result from the evangelist's own reflection are taken from the Hebrew; neither is it true that such as are inserted into the context of the narrative are uniformly from the Septuagint. i. 23 is an exception to the former, being from the LXX; and xxii. 24 an exception to the latter, being from the Hebrew. ii. 6, which has reference to the Hebrew, is also an exception to the rule. The influence of the Septuagint is not always absent from the citations of the original, though it is comparatively small. But notwithstanding the objection taken to this classification by Ebrard, Delitzsch, and Weiss, it is *substantially* a sound one. In the first class, seven places agree more or less closely with the Hebrew, and only two with the LXX; in the second class, there are three gradational exceptions to derivation from the LXX, which is not surprising in a list more numerous than the first.

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.

THE AUTHOR.

THE REPUTED author of the third gospel is *Luke*,¹ the name being an abbreviated form of *Lukanus*,² in the same manner as *Silas* is formed from *Silvanus*. Paul mentions Luke the beloved physician, who is commonly identified with the evangelist; at least, the fathers generally—Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom—identify them; and most modern critics do the same. Some have even discovered indications of the writer's profession in the gospel and Acts; such as the expression *a great fever*, which Galen uses (iv. 38); and a technical term³ denoting *blindness* (Acts xiii. 11), which is also employed by Galen. These and other technical expressions which have been discovered are imaginary.

Little is known of Luke's history before he became associated with the apostle of the Gentiles. Lardner thinks he was a Jew, for two reasons neither of which is satisfactory. It is more likely that he was a Gentile, if we may judge from Coloss. iv. 11, 14, where the writer, having saluted certain persons by name, adds that they were of the circumcision; separating them from those mentioned afterwards, among whom is Luke. It has been assumed that he was a manumitted slave, probably because the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to educate some of their domestics in the science of medicine, and granted them freedom for services

¹ Λουκάς.² Λουκανός.³ ἀχλὺς.

performed. The fact of Luke's being a physician does not imply that he was a manumitted slave.

Nothing is known of his native place or of the locality in which he resided before he attached himself to Paul. Greswell conjectures that he was a native or inhabitant of Philippi; others prefer Troas. According to Eusebius he was born in Antioch; and this is confirmed by Augustine. As his name is a Greek one, he was probably a Greek; and therefore the inhabitants of his native city were Greeks.

Luke, as is generally believed, attached himself to Paul at Troas, while the latter was on his second missionary journey. We afterwards find him at Philippi. Towards the end of the apostle's third missionary tour, Luke was with him at Troas, Miletus, Tyre, Cæsarea, Jerusalem. At Cæsarea, where Paul was a prisoner, his faithful friend did not desert him; for although he may not have accompanied him thither, he probably followed (Acts xxiv. 23), and was with him towards the close of his confinement. It is certain that he accompanied him to Rome.

The latter part of Luke's life is involved in obscurity; and the accounts given of it by ecclesiastical writers are neither consistent nor probable. According to Epiphanius and others he was one of the 72 disciples, and preached in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia. Theophylact makes him one of the two disciples who journeyed to Emmaus; while Nicephorus speaks of him as a painter, who painted Christ and his mother. The Apostolic Constitutions mention his presence at Alexandria. Isidore of Seville relates that he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, was buried in Bithynia, and that his bones were subsequently conveyed to Constantinople. Some put him in the list of martyrs; others say he died a natural death.

PREFACE OF THE GOSPEL.

Unlike the other evangelists, Luke gives a preface from which we learn—

1. The qualifications which the author possessed for writing a gospel. He had traced up all things to their sources *accurately*. He had the gospels of many before him. In addition to these he had an immediate oral tradition, as his predecessors had. Written and oral sources of the evangelical history were at his disposal. It is not indeed expressly stated in the proem, that Luke drew his materials from other gospels either wholly or in part; but it is natural to suppose that he would employ them; since they contained valuable matter. As he had traced up everything to its source, he starts from an earlier point than the other synoptists.

2. The mode in which he proposes to write is stated, viz. *in order*. What kind of order?

The Greek word means *in a continuous narrative*, not without regard to time and place, from which departures violating the original plan occur. The gospel disagrees at times with the declared purpose of the author, to whom we cannot attribute discrepancy without disparaging his ability or truth. (Compare vii. 18–35; ix. 51–xviii. 14.)

3. Many had attempted to fix in writing the oral evangelical tradition before Luke's time. These evangelists had even drawn from persons who were 'eyewitnesses and ministers of the word,' i.e. apostles and disciples.

4. It has been generally supposed since the time of Origen, that blame is implied in the word translated *taken in hand*. But it is doubtful whether it involves censure; though along with the context some dissatisfaction with the writers may be conveyed. Although they derived their materials from 'eyewitnesses and

ministers of the word,' and may therefore have been supposed to write, if not complete, at least accurate and chronological gospels, this evangelist was not satisfied, but wishes to give Theophilus a *truthful* or *credible* gospel.¹ Hence the works of the *many* were not infallibly truthful or credible, in Luke's opinion. They are tacitly charged with failure, both in the contents and form of their gospels.

5. The preface obviously implies that the evangelist was not an original eyewitness. Hence he was not of the seventy disciples. The author of the Dialogue *De recta in Deum fide* is mistaken in characterising Luke as one of them.

Other deductions from the preface will be noticed hereafter. Meantime we observe in the writer of the third gospel a critical historian, who feels impelled to undertake a gospel which would represent apostolic tradition more faithfully than had been done before. Not satisfied with former digests, he proposes to produce a better, one reaching up to an earlier period, chronological and trustworthy.

SOURCES.

As the gospel of Matthew preceded that of Luke, it is probable that the evangelist used it. But *à priori* reasoning on the point is precarious. When internal evidence is looked at it shows that the first gospel was one source at least whence Luke drew his materials. The resemblance between certain portions of the respective documents could not have been accidental. It is so close and even verbal as to admit of but one explanation, viz. either that Luke used Matthew, or a document which Matthew employed. It has been urged against the former hypothesis, that a writer acquainted with a genealogy in which Jesus is made to proceed from the royal line of David, could

¹ ἀσφάλεια.

hardly have believed in the existence of a better one; but it is not necessary to suppose that Luke thought he could furnish a better, much less that he was unacquainted with the genealogy given by Matthew as Wittichen supposes. He may have thought of giving one more accordant with his view of Christianity. In the time of the third evangelist, we suppose that the *Logia-document* no longer existed in its original state. If Luke had a variety of sources or gospels at his command, and among them the present gospel of Matthew, it is natural to think that he did not neglect them. If he had Matthew's gospel, why should it be thought incredible that he employed it? Examples of coincidence appear in Luke vii. 22, 23, compared with Matt. xi. 4-6; vii. 28, with Matt. xi. 11; Luke iii. 7, 8, with Matt. iii. 7-9; Luke xi. 24-26, with Matt. xii. 43-45; Luke vii. 8-9, with Matt. viii. 9-10.

MATTHEW.

Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.

And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me (xi. 4-6).

Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist, but he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he (xi. 11).

O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance. And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham (iii. 7-9).

LUKE.

Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached.

And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me (vii. 22, 23).

For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he (vii. 28).

O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance; and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham (iii. 7, 8).

MATTHEW.

When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he is come he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first (xii. 43-45).

For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it. When Jesus heard he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel (viii. 9, 10).

LUKE.

When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest; and finding none he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first (xi. 24-26).

For I am a man set under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it. When Jesus heard these things he marvelled at him, and turned him about and said to the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel (vii. 8, 9).

The use of the first gospel is confirmed by the discourses and sayings recorded in Luke more than by the actions and events narrated. Though the divergencies are numerous in the distribution and plan, as well as in the matter itself, it is clear that the first gospel was employed directly by the writer of the third. Thus the sayings of Jesus in Luke vii. 31-35 are closely related to Matt. xi. 16-19, the deviations being inconsiderable. So too Luke xii. compared with Matt. x. The deviation in xii. 3, '*whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light, and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the house-tops,*' finds its explanation in the fact that Christianity had already spread in Luke's time; so that the secret doctrine taught by our Lord to his immediate disciples, referred to in Matt. x. 27, did not appear to suit the advanced state of religion. Luke's horizon is wider

than that of the first evangelist, who confines himself to the operations of the twelve. He looks at the accomplishment of the words of Jesus on an extended scale, because the fact was before his eyes.

The first gospel was not the only source which Luke employed, as the word *many* in his proem suggests. This is seen in the sermon on the mount. 'Blessed be ye poor; for yours is the kingdom of God,' varies remarkably from Matthew's, 'Blessed are *the poor in spirit*;' reminding one of James's expressions, 'Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which He hath promised to them that love Him?' Here Luke presents the original Essene expression. Some think that the words in xvii. 4 were taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews; and that the history of the resurrection in the third gospel is closely related to that of the same document. In whatever way tradition contributed to the materials of Luke, we see clearly that it was not the Galilean one which Matthew followed. Thus the two unimportant events noticed in xiii. 1-4, which happened at Jerusalem, betray a writer who was well acquainted with the former of them at least. And in the narrative of the resurrection, not a word is said of Jesus's appearance in Galilee, though Matt. xxviii. and 1 Cor. xv. imply that he was seen there by many. On the contrary, the disciples were to wait at Jerusalem till the Spirit should be poured out (Luke xxiv. 49).

It is difficult at the present day to determine the nature or number of the documents which Luke employed. Were they comprehensive works such as we now term *gospels*; or were they small collections, detached pieces of history? The former opinion seems the more probable; though Ewald, who adopts it, assumes too many gospels of different kinds. The subject does not admit of a satisfactory explanation. It has been inferred, however, from a survey of the contents,

that the gospel according to the Hebrews or the logia was employed; but this is conjecture. Had the logia been incorporated with the canonical gospel of Matthew, why use it as a source provided it had still a separate existence? Is it likely that Luke took it in preference to the first gospel? The thing is possible but not probable. Perhaps he used *the primitive* Mark, drawing from it many events and acts in the life of Jesus. Besides other sources, he employed Paul's epistles and oral tradition. In ix. 51–xviii. 14 it is likely that documents were used; but their nature and number cannot be ascertained.

Those who make Mark's gospel the earliest, usually suppose that Luke employed it either conjointly with Matthew or independently. Weiss reduces our evangelist to a secondary redactor of Mark; giving him also the benefit of the logia. It is evident that he had not much Galilean tradition at his command; and therefore the ministry of Christ in northern Judea is rapidly surveyed with the aid of Matthew's gospel (iii. 23–ix. 50). The facts narrated relate more to southern Judea and Jerusalem.

Among other sources, it has been thought that Josephus was one, both in his 'Antiquities' and 'History of the Jewish War.' Some coincidences in expression have been pointed out by Holtzmann which appear at first sight to favour the idea.¹ But they are insufficient to justify it. Even the Acts do not support it, though the passage about Theudas bears some resemblance to the parallel narrative of the 'Antiquities.' The mistakes of Luke about Quirinius and Theudas, with his appellation of Philip as tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis, are against the consultation of Josephus's works.

¹ See Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1873, p. 85, etc.

RELATION OF THE GOSPEL TO THE APOSTLE PAUL.

Luke was the companion of Paul, if not his spiritual son. Hence arose the opinion that the evangelist wrote his gospel under the superintending influence of the apostle—an opinion that existed in the Church at an early period, and was handed down from one generation to another. It is not difficult to account for this indirect derivation of the gospel from Paul. The early fathers appear to have considered apostolic origin in one form or other necessary to the reception of a work into the canon; and the transition from a disciple of the apostle to the act of writing under apostolic inspection was natural. Hence Luke's gospel was thought to convey Paul's sentiments.

The tradition respecting the connection between the third gospel and Paul is embodied in the following passages. The Muratorian fragment says: 'Luke the physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him for a companion as being zealous of what was right, wrote in his own name according as it seemed good to him,' etc.¹ Irenæus writes: 'And Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him (Paul).'² In another place: 'That Luke was inseparable from Paul, and his fellow-labourer in the gospel is shown by himself,' etc. . . . 'Thus, the apostles simply, and without envying any one, handed down to all those things which they themselves had learned from the Lord. So therefore Luke also, without envy to any one, has handed down to us those things which he had learned from them, as he testifies when he says, "even as they delivered them unto us,

¹ 'Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi, cum eum Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum secundum adsumsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit,' etc.

² Λουκᾶς δὲ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο.—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 1, p. 845, ed. Migne.

who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word.”¹

Tertullian says: ‘In the first place, we lay it down as a truth, that the evangelic Scriptures have for their authors the apostles, to whom the work of publishing the gospel was committed by the Lord himself. And if it have for authors apostolic men, they are not alone but with apostles and after apostles, since the preaching of the disciples might have been suspected of the charge of a desire of glory, if not supported by the authority of the masters, yea of Christ, who made the apostles masters. . . . Therefore if Luke’s instructor himself (Paul) wished to have the authority of his predecessors both for his faith and preaching, how much more may I desire for Luke’s gospel, what was necessary for the gospel of his master.’²

In another place Tertullian has these words: ‘Luke’s digest is usually ascribed to Paul. It is easy to take for the master’s what the disciples have published.’³

Origen writes: ‘The third is that according to Luke, the gospel commended by Paul,’ etc.⁴

The historian Eusebius has: ‘And Luke, who was a

¹ ‘Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo, et coöperarius ejus in evangelio, ipse facit manifestum,’ etc. . . . ‘Sic Apostoli simpliciter, et nemini invidentes, quæ didicerant ipsi a Domino, hæc omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas, nemini invidens, ea quæ ab eis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testificatur, dicens: Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt verbi.’—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 14, § 1, 2, pp. 913–915, ed. Migne.

² ‘Constituimus imprimis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et apostolicos non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis, et post apostolos, quoniam prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriæ studio, si non adsistat illi autoritas magistrorum, imo Christi, qui magistros apostolos fecit. . . . Igitur si ipse illuminator Lucæ (Paulus) autoritatem antecessorum et fidei et prædicationi suæ optavit, quanto magis eam evangelio Lucæ expostulem, quæ evangelio magistri ejus fuit necessaria?’—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 2.

³ ‘Nam et Lucæ digestum Paulo adscribere solent. Capit magistrorum videri quæ discipuli promulgârint.’—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

⁴ καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον.—*Ap. Enseb. H. E.* vi. 25.

native of Antioch, and by profession a physician, a companion of Paul for the most part, and who was not slightly acquainted with the rest of the apostles, has left us, in two books divinely inspired, proofs of the art of healing souls which he got from them. One of these is the gospel, which he professes to have written as they delivered it to him who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, with all of whom he says likewise he had been perfectly acquainted from the beginning. The other book is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed not from what he had heard, but from what he had seen with his own eyes. And it is said that Paul was accustomed to mention the gospel according to him, whenever in his epistles, speaking as it were of some gospel of his own, he says, “according to my gospel.”¹

This language implies doubt of the current tradition.

Jerome writes : ‘ Luke, a physician of Antioch, not unskilled in the Hebrew language, as his writings show, a disciple of the apostle Paul, and the constant companion of his travels, wrote a gospel, of which the same Paul makes mention, saying, “ We have sent with him the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches.” ’ Some suppose that whenever Paul in his epistles makes use of the expression *according to my gospel*, he means Luke’s writing. It is also supposed that Luke did not learn his gospel from the apostle Paul only, who had not conversed with the Lord in the

¹ Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὦν τῶν ἀπ’ Ἀντιοχείας τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην ἰατρός· τὰ πλείστα συγγεγονὼς τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὠμιλῶν ἥς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς, ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις καταλέλοιπε βιβλίοις· τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ ὃ καὶ χαράξαι μαρτύρεται καθὰ παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπαρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, οἷς καὶ φησὶν ἐπάνωθεν ἅπασι παρηκολουθηκέναι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεσιν ἃς οὐκέτι δι’ ἀκοῆς, ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς παραλαβὼν συνετάξατο· φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύειν ὁ Παῦλος εἶωθεν, ὅπηνίκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγε, Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίόν μου.—H. E. iii. 4.

flesh, but also from other apostles, which he likewise declares in the beginning of his gospel, saying, "As they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Therefore he wrote the gospel as he heard it from others.¹

The tradition before us rests on a precarious basis. All that Tertullian says is, 'It is the custom to ascribe Luke's digest to Paul.' The report arose from an incorrect explanation of Romans ii. 16, where Paul uses the phrase, 'my gospel,' i.e. my preaching. But the fathers knowing that Luke had been Paul's companion, and supposing that *a written* gospel was meant, concluded that the apostle had dictated Luke's. This is virtually acknowledged by Eusebius.

Luke's preface says nothing about the Pauline origin or sanction of his gospel. He refers to eyewitnesses and others, to the primitive apostles themselves rather than Paul. All acquaintance on his part with Paul is ignored in the proem. He justifies his undertaking simply on the ground that others had preceded him in the same work, and that he had diligently investigated the traditions up to their source. The absence of all allusion to such a man as Paul, tells against the idea of the writer's dependence upon him; for we can hardly suppose that he would have omitted a fact favourable to the credibility of his own document. It cannot be shown that Paul superintended the composition of the gospel, or that he dictated any part of it; much less that he

¹ 'Lucas, medicus Antiochensis, ut ejus scripta indicant, Græci sermonis non ignarus fuit, sectator apostoli Pauli, et omnis peregrinationis ejus comes. Scripsit evangelium, de quo idem Paulus, Misimus, inquit, cum illo, fratrem ejus laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias. . . . Quidam suspicantur quotiescunque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, juxta evangelium meum, de Lucæ significare volumine; et Lucam non solo ab apostolo Paulo didicisse evangelium, qui cum domino in carne non fuerat, sed et a cæteris apostolis. Quod ipse quoque in principio sui voluminis declarat, dicens: Sicut tradiderunt nobis qui a principio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis. Igitur evangelium, sicut audierat, scripsit.'—*De Viris Illustr.* c. 7.

wrote it himself, as ‘ the anonymous Saxon ’ conjectures.¹ The tradition, ancient as it is, lacks an historical foundation.

But while rejecting the view of Paul’s early connection with Luke as dictating or superintending his gospel, we admit that the work in question presents remarkable coincidences with Paul’s epistles in language and ideas which could not have been accidental. The writer must have known and used Pauline literature.

The account of the last supper accords with that given in the 11th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; the evangelist departing from Matthew in separating the Christian supper from the passover meal. And there is a Pauline diction in the first two chapters of the gospel, which resembles the epistle to the Romans, chapters ix.—xi. Almost all the characteristic terms of these chapters may be found in the introductory history and hymns of the gospel.

The following words are common to Luke and the Pauline literature :—

ἀγνοεῖν ix. 45; Acts xiii. 27; xvii. 23. Used very often by Paul. ἀγωνίζεσθαι xiii. 24. With the exception of John xviii. 36, Paul is the only writer that uses the verb. ἀδελφος xi. 44. Only in 1 Cor. xiv. 8 besides. ἀδικία. ἀθετεῖν vii. 30; x. 16. Used by Paul especially, and in similar combinations, Gal. ii. 21; iii. 15; 1 Thess. iv. 8. αἰνεῖν τὸν Θεόν used by Luke seven times altogether. Twice in the epistle to the Romans. αἰσθάνεσθαι ix. 45, has its correlative αἰσθησις in Phil. i. 9. αἰφνίδιος xxi. 34, only in 1 Thess. v. 3. αἰχμαλωτίζειν xxi. 24. Only in Paul. ἀκαταστασία xxi. 9. Only in Paul and James. ἀλλά γε xxiv. 21. Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 2. ἀλλ’ οὐδέ peculiar to Luke and Paul. ἀνάγκη xiv. 18, used in the same way in 1 Cor. vii. 37; in xxi. 23, used similarly 1 Cor. vii. 26;

¹ *Die Evangelien, ihr Geist, ihre Verfasser und ihr Verhältniss zu einander*, p. 251, et seq.

2 Cor. vi. 4; xii. 10; 1 Thess. iii. 7; but not elsewhere. *αναζήν* xv. 24, 32; Rom. vii. 9; xiv. 9; and Revelation. *ανακρίνειν* xxiii. 14 and Acts; ten times in 1 Cor. *αναλύειν* xii. 36; Phil. i. 23. *αναλωσαι* ix. 54. Only in Gal. v. 15; and 2 Thess. ii. 8 besides. *αναπέμπειν* only in Luke and Philem. 11. *ανθ' ὧν* i. 20; xii. 3; xix. 44; 2 Thess. ii. 10. *ανόητοι* in the vocative xxiv. 25. Only in Gal. iii. 1 besides. *ανοια* vi. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 9. *ανταποκρίνεσθαι* xiv. 6. Only in Rom. ix. 20 besides. *ανταπόδομα* xiv. 12; occurring only in Rom. xi. 9. So too *ανταποδοῦναι* xiv. 14. Only in Hebrews and Paul. *αντικείμενος* xiii. 17; xxi. 15. Only in Paul besides. *αντιλαμβάνεσθαι* i. 54; Acts; 1 Tim. vi. 2. *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* i. 48; v. 10; xii. 52; xxii. 69; 2 Cor. v. 16. *ἀπ' αἰῶνος* i. 70; Acts; Coloss. i. 26; Ephes. iii. 9. *ἀπελπίζειν* only in Luke vi. 35 and Ephes. iv. 19. *ἀπειθήs* only in Luke i. 17; Acts; and Paul. *ἀποβῆναι* v. 2; xxi. 13. In Phil. i. 19; and John xxi. 9. *ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι* of a person xvii. 30. Elsewhere only in 2 Thess. ii. 3, 6, 8. *ἀποκάλυψις* ii. 32. Comp. Ephes. i. 17. *ἀποκείμενος* xix. 20; Coloss. i. 5. *ἀπολογεῖσθαι* twice; Acts; only in Paul besides. *ἀπολύτρωσις* xxi. 28. Only in Paul and Hebrews. *ἀρκεῖσθαι* iii. 14; 1 Tim. vi. 8. *ἀροτριᾶν* only in xvii. 7; and 1 Cor. ix. 10. *ἀσφάλεια* i. 4; Acts; 1 Thess. v. 3. *ἀσώτως* xv. 13. Comp. *ἀσωτία* Ephes. v. 18; 1 Peter iv. 4. *ἀτενίζειν* iv. 20; xxii. 56; Acts; twice besides in Paul. *ἀτοπος* xxiii. 41; Acts; 2 Thess. iii. 2. *ἀφιστάναι* ii. 37, etc.; Acts; Paul. *ἀφόβως* i. 74. Comp. Phil. i. 14; 1 Cor. xvi. 10; Jude 12. *ἄφρον* in addressing another, xi. 40; xii. 20; 1 Cor. xv. 36. *βιωτικός* xxi. 34; 1 Cor. vi. 3, 4. *βυθίζεσθαι* v. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 9. *Γε* meaning *at least*, xi. 8. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 8. *γνώσις* i. 77; xi. 52; often in Paul. *δέησις* i. 13; ii. 37; Acts; in almost all Paul's epistles. *ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις* v. 33, is Pauline. *δεκτός* iv. 19, 24; 2 Cor. vi. 2; Phil. iv. 18. *διαγγέλλειν* ix. 60; Acts; Rom. ix. 17. *διαιρεῖν* xv. 12.

Only in 1 Cor. xii. 11. διαπορεύεσθαι three times in the gospel; Acts; Rom. xv. 24. διερμηνεύειν xxiv. 27; Acts; 1 Cor. δικαίωμα i. 6 and δικαίως xxiii. 41, both Pauline. The Pauline use of δίκαιος is in xviii. 9; xx. 20. διώκειν intransitive, xvii. 23; Phil. iii. 12. δόγμα ii. 1; Acts; in Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews. δοῦναι τόπον xix. 9. Comp. Rom. xii. 19; Ephes. iv. 27. δυνάστης i. 52; Acts viii. 27; 1 Tim. vi. 15. ἐγκακεῖν xviii. 1, a Pauline word. εἰ καί xi. 8; and in Paul. εἰ μήτι *unless perhaps*, ix. 13; 1 Cor. vii. 5; 2 Cor. xiii. 5. εἶδος iii. 22; ix. 29; in 2 Cor. and 1 Thess. ἐκδικεῖν xviii. 3, 5; in Paul and the Revelation. ἐκδίκησις xviii. 7, 8; Acts; in Paul; Hebrews; and 1 Peter besides. ἐκδιώκειν only in xi. 49 and 1 Thess. ii. 15. ἐκφεύγειν xxi. 36; Acts. Only in Paul and Hebrews besides. ἔνδοξος vii. 25; xiii. 17; and in Paul. ἐνδύσασθαι xxiv. 49 is a Pauline term. ἐξαποστέλλειν only in the epistle to the Galatians, in addition to the gospel and Acts. ἐξουθενεῖν xviii. 9; xxiii. 11; in Paul eight or nine times. ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους xxii. 53. Only in Coloss. i. 13 besides. ἐξουσιάζειν xxii. 25; 1 Cor. ἐπαινεῖν xvi. 8. Only in Paul besides. ἐπαναπαύεσθαι x. 6; Rom. ii. 17. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι only in Luke and 1 Tim. ἐπιφαίνειν in Luke and Titus. ἐργασία xii. 58; Acts; Ephes. iv. 19. εὐαγγελίζεσθαι in an active sense in Luke and Paul, with a single exception in the latter. εὐγενής xix. 12; Acts; 1 Cor. i. 26. εὐδοκία with the sole exception of Matt. xi. 26, in Luke and Paul only. ἐφιστάναι three times in Paul, in addition to Luke. ζωγρεῖν v. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 26. ἡ καί. Comp. Rom. ii. 15; iv. 9; 1 Cor. xvi. 6. ἡμέρα Κυρίου xvii. 24, a Pauline expression. ἡσυχάζειν xiv. 3; xxiii. 56; Acts; 1 Thess. iv. 11. ἡχεῖν xxi. 25; 1 Cor. xiii. 1. θυμός *wrath* iv. 28; Acts; in Paul, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. ἰδοὺ γάρ only in 2 Cor. vii. 11 besides Luke. κακοῦργος xxiii. 32, 33, 39; 2 Tim. ii. 9. κατάγειν v. 11; Acts. Only in Rom. x.

6 besides. *καταισχύνειν* xiii. 17, a Pauline expression, used besides only in 1 Peter ii. 6; iii. 16. *καταξιούν* xx. 35; xxi. 36; Acts; 2 Thess. i. 5. *καταργεῖν* xiii. 7, a favourite word of Paul's. *κατευθύνειν* i. 79; in the epistles to the Thessalonians. *κατέχειν τὸν λόγον* viii. 15. Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 2. *κατηρτισμένος* vi. 40. Comp. Rom. ix. 22; 1 Cor. i. 10; *κινδυνεύειν* viii. 23; Acts; 1 Cor. xv. 30. *κραταιοῦσθαι* i. 80; ii. 40; twice in Paul. *κυριεύειν* xxii. 25. Only in Paul besides. *λειτουργία* i. 23; Paul, and the Hebrews. *μεγαλύνειν* *to exalt*, i. 46, 58; Acts; in Phil., and 2 Cor. *μενοῦν γε* xi. 28. Only in Paul besides. *μεταδιδόναι* iii. 11. Only in Paul. *νόμος* without the article, ii. 23, 24. Elsewhere only in Paul.

Luke begins a sentence with *νῦν*, *νῦν δέ*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, etc.; ii. 29; v. 10, etc., similarly to the Pauline *νῦν δέ*, *νυνὶ δέ*. *ὁδὸς εἰρήνης* i. 79. Comp. Rom. iii. 17. *οἰκονομία* and *οἰκονόμος* often in Luke and Paul, but nowhere else, except 1 Peter iv. 10. *ὀπτασία* in the gospel and Acts. Only in 2 Cor. xii. 1 besides. *ὀρίζειν* xxii. 22; Acts; Rom. i. 4; Hebr. iv. 7. *ὀσιότης* i. 75; Ephes. iv. 24. *οὐχὶ ἀλλά* only in Paul besides the gospel. *ὀψώνιον* iii. 14. Frequent in Paul. *πανοπλία* xi. 22; Ephes. vi. 11, 13. *πανουργία* xx. 23. Only in Paul besides. *πάντως* iv. 23; Acts. Only in Paul besides. *πατρία* ii. 4; Acts; Ephes. iii. 15. *παρά* used comparatively, iii. 13, etc., is especially Pauline. Comp. Rom. xii. 3. *παράδεισος* xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4. *παράκλησις* ii. 25; vi. 24, Acts; in Paul only besides. *πληροῦν* applied to speech, words, or something spoken, with *τὰ ῥήματα* vii. 1; with *τὸν λόγον* Coloss. i. 25; with *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* Rom. xv. 19. *πληροφορεῖν* i. 1, a Pauline word. *πλουτεῖν εἰς τινα* xii. 21; Rom. x. 12. *πνεῦμα* connected with *δύναμις*, is found only in the gospel, Acts, and Paul. *πραγματεύεσθαι* xix. 13, has its correlative *πραγματεία* 2 Tim. ii. 4. *πράσσειν* is employed by none of the synoptists

except Luke. It is in John's gospel, and very often in the Pauline writings. *πρεσβύτης* i. 18. Only in Paul besides. *προσδέχεσθαι* to receive kindly, xv. 2; Rom. xvi. 2; Phil. ii. 29. *κατὰ πρόσωπον* ii. 31; Acts; is only Pauline. *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν* xx. 21; Gal. ii. 6. *πυκνά* v. 33; Acts; 1 Tim. v. 23. *σιγᾶν* only in Paul besides Luke. *σκοπεῖν* xi. 35; in Paul only besides. *σπλάγχνα ἐλέους* i. 78; Coloss. iii. 12; Phil. ii. 1. *σπονδαίως* vii. 4. Only in Paul besides. *στρατευόμενος* for *στρατιώτης* iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 4. *συγκαθίζειν* xxii. 55; Ephes. ii. 6. *συγκλείειν* v. 6; in Paul alone. *συγχαίρειν* only in Luke and Paul. *συμπαραγίνεσθαι* xxiii. 48; 2 Tim. iv. 16. *συμφύεσθαι* viii. 7. The correlate *σύμφυτος* is in Rom. vi. 5. *συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι* x. 40; Rom. viii. 26. *συνεσθίειν* xv. 2; Acts. Only in Paul besides. *σύνεσις* ii. 47. Comp. Ephes. iii. 4; Coloss. i. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 7. *συνενδοκεῖν* xi. 48. Only in Paul. *συννοχή* xxi. 25; 2 Cor. ii. 4. *σωματικός* iii. 22; Coloss. ii. 9; 1 Tim. iv. 8. *σωτήρ* applied to God, i. 47; ii. 11. So in the pastoral epistles. *σωτήριος* only in Luke, Ephesians, and Titus. *τάξις* only in Paul, Luke, and the epistle to the Hebrews. *τιθέναι θεμέλιον* vi. 48; xiv. 29. Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 10. *τίς οὖν* vii. 42; xx. 15, 17, is Pauline. *υἱός* with a substantive in the genitive, as *υἱός εἰρήνης* x. 6; or *τοῦ αἵωνος τούτου*, or *τοῦ φωτός*, xvi. 8; xx. 34; or *τῆς ἀναστάσεως* xx. 36, like *υἱοὶ φωτός*, or *ἀπειθείας*, Ephes. ii. 2; v. 6. *τέκνα φωτός*, *τέκνα ὀργῆς*, Ephes. *ὑποκρίνεσθαι* xx. 20. Comp. *συνυποκρίνεσθαι* Gal. ii. 13. *ὑπωπιάζειν* xviii. 5. Only in 1 Cor. ix. 27 besides. *ὑστέρημα* xxi. 4. A Pauline word. *φιλάργυρος* xvi. 14; 2 Tim. iii. 2. *φιλονεικία* xxii. 24. The correlate *φιλόνικος* 1 Cor. xi. 16. *φόρος* xx. 22; xxiii. 2; Rom. xiii. 6, 7. *φρόνησις* i. 17; Ephes. i. 8. *φυλακή* in the plural, only in Luke and 2 Cor. *χαίρειν ἐν* x. 20. Only in Paul. *χαρίζεσθαι* only in Luke and Paul. *χάριν ἔχειν* xvii. 9; in 1 and 2 Tim.; and the epistle to the Hebrews. *χαριτοῦν* i. 28;

Ephes. i. 6. The noun *χάρις* is more frequently used by Luke than the other evangelists, being a distinctive Pauline term. *ψαλμός* only in Luke and Paul.

Besides these linguistic similarities, various parallels consisting of ideas and words together connect Luke with the Pauline literature.

LUKE.

His word was with power (iv. 32).

Your Father also is merciful (vi. 36).

Can the blind lead the blind? (vi. 39).

Laid the foundation (vi. 48).

Is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save (ix. 56).

Eat such things as are set before you (x. 8).

Your names are written in heaven (x. 20).

Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes (x. 21).

I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute (xi. 49).

Who then is a faithful steward (xii. 42).

God forbid (xx. 16).

This that is written, the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner. Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken (xx. 17, 18).

For all live unto him (xx. 38).

In patience possess ye your souls (xxi. 19).

PAULINE.

My speech was in demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Cor. ii. 4).

The Father of mercies (2 Cor. i. 3). By the mercies of God (Rom. xii. 1).

And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind (Rom. ii. 19).

I have laid the foundation (1 Cor. iii. 10).

Hath given for edification, and not destruction (2 Cor. x. 8).

Whatsoever is set before you, eat (1 Cor. x. 27).

Whose names are in the book of life (Phil. iv. 3).

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent (1 Cor. i. 19). God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise (27th verse).

Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us (1 Thess. ii. 15).

Moreover, it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful (1 Cor. iv. 2).

Rom. ix. 14; xi. 11. Gal. iii. 21.

As it is written, Behold I lay a stumbling-stone and rock of offence (Rom. ix. 33).

For whether we live, we live unto the Lord (Rom. xiv. 8).

To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory, eternal life (Rom. ii. 7).

LUKE.

Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled (xxi. 24).

Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and that day come upon you unawares (xxi. 34).

Watch therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things . . . and to stand before the Son of man (xxi. 36).

PAULINE.

Blindness is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in (Rom. xi. 25).

Sudden destruction cometh upon them . . . therefore let us be sober (1 Thess. v. 3-8). See Rom. xiii. 11-14.

Praying always with all prayer and supplication, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication (Ephes. vi. 18). Appear before the judgment-seat of Christ (2 Cor. v. 10).

The full force of this comparison can only be felt by those who examine the original, observing the general style and structure of sentences, as well as the terms and ideas peculiar to both. The mind of the evangelist was impregnated with the views and phraseology of Paul, so that the Pauline letters furnish numerous affinities.

AUTHORSHIP.

The earliest apostolic fathers have no quotation from the gospel, nor any express allusion to it. In Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (chapter xiii.), a place resembling Luke vi. 36-38 in some respects differs from it and all the gospel parallels so much, that it seems to have been taken from tradition. Hermas contains no clear allusion to Luke's gospel; and Papias does not seem to have been acquainted with it. Credner's attempt to show that Papias's language refers to Luke's preface is unsuccessful. The Ignatian epistles show no use of the gospel. The supposititious epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians has one passage,¹ 'Remembering what the Lord has taught us, saying, "judge not, and ye shall not be judged; forgive, and ye shall be forgiven. Be ye merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy: for

¹ In chapter ii.

with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again,"' in which both Matthew and Luke's gospels may have been used, the former more closely than the latter.

Justin Martyr was familiar with the gospel of Luke, though he does not assign it to him. The following are the principal passages in which he has respect to the third gospel: 'But the power of God coming upon the virgin overshadowed her, and caused her to conceive, though still a virgin. Moreover the angel of God who was sent to the virgin, at that very time saluted her, saying, Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb by the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest; and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins.'¹ 'Mary the virgin, when the angel Gabriel announced to her that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her, and the power of the Highest overshadow her, wherefore also that holy one born of her is the Son of God, answered: Be it unto me according to thy word.'² (Compare Luke i. 26-38.)

'The first taxing in Judea being then made in the time of Quirinius, Joseph had gone up from Nazareth where he dwelt, to Bethlehem, whence he was, to be taxed. For his descent was from the tribe of Judah inhabiting that country.'³

¹ δύναμις Θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτὴν καὶ κυφορῆσαι παρθένον οὖσαν πεποίηκε· καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλὴς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος Θεοῦ εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτήν, εἰπὼν· Ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ υἱὸς Ὑψίστου κληθήσεται, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—*Apol.* i. 33.

² Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου, ὅτι πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει αὐτήν, διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἁγίον ἔστιν Υἱὸς Θεοῦ, ἀπεκρίνατο· Γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥήμά σου.—*Dial.* 100.

³ ἀπογραφῆς οὗσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, ἀνηλθῆναι ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ ἐνθα ᾤκει, εἰς Βηθλεὲμ ὅθεν ἦν, ἀπογράψασθαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς κατοικουμένης τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην φυλῆς Ἰούδα τὸ γένος ἦν.—*Dial.* 78. See also *Apol.* i. 34; Luke ii. 2, etc.

‘The law and the prophets were till John the Baptist; henceforward the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and the violent take it by force. And if ye will receive him, this is Elias who was to come. He that hath ears to hear let him hear.’¹ (Luke xvi. 16, and Matt. xi. 13). The first part is from Luke, the rest from Matthew. It is not uncommon in Justin to join the words of several evangelists.

‘When a certain man came to him and said, “Good master,” he answered and said, “There is none good save one, that is God, who created all things.”² “Why callest thou me good? One is good, my Father who is in heaven”’³ (Luke xviii. 19).

‘The things which are impossible with men, are possible with God’⁴ (Luke xviii. 27).

‘Our Lord said, that they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but be equal to angels, being children of God *and* of the resurrection’⁵ (Luke xx. 34, etc.).

‘The apostles in the memoirs composed by them, which are called gospels, have related that Jesus thus commanded them; that having taken bread and given thanks he said, Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body: and that in like manner having taken the cup and given thanks, he said, This is my blood, and that he distributed to these alone’⁶ (Luke xxii. 19, etc.).

¹ ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ· ἐξ ὅτου βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν· καὶ εἰ θέλετε δέξασθαι, αὐτός ἐστιν Ἡλίας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκοῦειν, ἀκουέτω.—*Dial.* 51.

² καὶ προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος καὶ εἰπόντος, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων, Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα.—*Apol.* i. 16.

³ τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.—*Dial.* 101.

⁴ τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ Θεῷ.—*Apol.* i. 19.

⁵ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν, Ὅτι οὔτε γαμήσουσιν οὔτε γαμηθήσονται ἀλλὰ ἱσάγγελοι ἔσονται, τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὄντες.—*Dial.* 81.

⁶ οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἀ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα

The accounts which Justin gives of the prediction of Christ's sufferings and resurrection coincide very closely with Luke's in their phraseology, and in all the particulars where the other synoptists vary. They also contain what is peculiar to Luke, viz. that the sufferings were a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Hence we infer that he used the third gospel.¹

'In the memoirs, which I say were composed by the apostles and those who followed them (it is written), that sweat like drops flowed down (Jesus) while praying and saying, Let this cup, if it be possible, pass from me' ² (Luke xxii. 44). While the last part of this passage refers to Matt. xxvi. 39, the former is certainly from Luke.

The context states that Pilate sent Jesus bound, to Herod, a fact given in Luke alone, xxiii. 6, etc. 'Jesus as he gave up his spirit on the cross said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit' ³ (Luke xxiii. 46).

It is possible that some of these passages may have been taken from an apocryphal gospel, for it is highly probable that Justin used a document of that kind in addition to the synoptics, especially for his statements relative to the birth and infancy of Jesus; but most of them show the direct use of Luke. His manner was to intermix quotations from several sources, not giving the texts verbally.

There is no doubt that Marcion had the gospel of Luke, which he adapted to his own ideas. He lived

ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἶμά μου, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι.—*Apol.* i. 66. Compare also *Dial.* ch. 41 and 70.

¹ See *Dial.* 70. 100. 51.

² ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντέταχθαι, ὅτι ἰδρὼς ὥσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο, αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος, Παρελθέτω εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.—*Dial.* 103.

³ καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταύρῳ εἶπε, Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.—*Dial.* 105.

before Justin, about A.D. 140; and is the earliest writer from whom we learn the existence of the gospel.

The Ebionite author of the Clementine Homilies (A.D. 160–170) knew and used the gospel, as several passages show, especially one in Hom. xix. 2, which betrays Luke x. 18 as its source. Another in ix. 22 is taken from Luke x. 20. Probably also a passage in Hom. iii. 15 was influenced by Luke xix. 43, as well as by Matthew; and another in iii. 30 by Luke x. 5. In Hom. xvii. 5 there is a passage from Luke xviii. 6–8; while Hom. ii. 13 shows an acquaintance with the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. Credner¹ enumerates twenty-four places in which Luke was used by the Clementine author, but several are doubtful.² The first book of the Clementine Recognitions also shows acquaintance with Luke.³

Whether Basilides and Valentinus used it is uncertain; for Hippolytus's 'Philosophumena' refer to these heretics in a vague and general way. Their disciples unquestionably employed all the canonical gospels; and Hippolytus seems to have quoted from them opinions which he ascribes to their leaders. Many expressions of the New Testament which Irenæus gives from the Valentinians in his first book are taken from the third

¹ *Beiträge*, i. pp. 284–330.

² See Zeller's *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 53, *et seq.*

³ The date of the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions can only be given approximately. Their mutual relation is also obscure, though there is sufficient literature about them; including the treatises of Schliemann, Hilgenfeld, Uhlhorn, Lehmann, and Lipsius. Which is prior is doubtful; perhaps the Recognitions. Both may have been based on an older work; on the *Kerygma* (preaching) of Peter, according to some. But the latter, if it be that with which Clement and Origen were acquainted, is a work which was used by Catholic and Gnostic writers towards the end of the second century; so that it would scarcely have been taken for the foundation of an anti-Pauline document. Although Dodwell and many after him have assumed such a basis, we agree with Schliemann in rejecting it. Yet it is still likely that the Clementines were based upon a Petrine work; though it is not easy to find it. Lipsius thinks that the Homilies and Recognitions had their source in the *περίοδοι Πέτρου διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαι*, also called *ἀναγνωρισμοὶ Κλήμεντος*.

gospel. According to Agrippa Castor, Basilides composed twenty-four books on *the gospel*,¹ but that expression should not be identified with the four canonical gospels. It means Christian truth as Basilides supposed it to have been handed down from the apostles; and does not necessarily denote one or more *written* gospels. The passage in the 'Philosophumena,' which is thought to prove Basilides's use of the third gospel, is in vii. 26, quoting Luke i. 35, but introduced by the usual *he says*,² which has no definite subject, and may mean either Basilides or one of his school; the latter most probably, as a wide induction of examples shows. The same passage in Luke is said to be cited by Valentinus (vi. 35), with the word *he says* in the introductory context, which points to one of the Valentinians not to the head of the sect.

Celsus seems to have known it, as he refers to the genealogy of Christ going up to Adam.³ The place in which there is an allusion to two angels appearing at the grave of Jesus, may point either to Luke or John.⁴ Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 180) has the words of Luke xviii. 27 in his second book to Autolycus.

The Muratorian fragment is the earliest work which expressly assigns the gospel to Luke (A.D. 170); and Irenæus comes immediately after (A.D. 177–202). Clement of Alexandria adopts the same opinion, and the fathers generally follow it. Tertullian, however, expresses himself vaguely on the point, in a way unlike his usually confident one.⁵

The testimonies we have adduced lead up to the year 130, and show that the gospel existed in the circles where Marcion and Justin lived. But they do not tell us how widely it was known, what repute it had, or who its author was. It does not appear to have been much

¹ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

³ Origen, *contra Celsum*, ii. 32.

⁵ 'Evangelium quod Lucæ refertur.'—*Adv Marcion*, iv. 4.

² φησί.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 52.

known out of Rome in their time; nor was it preferred by them to an extra-canonical gospel or gospels which they employed along with it. Neither itself, nor those of Matthew and Mark in addition, were the exclusive source whence the earliest ecclesiastical writers drew their knowledge of gospel history.

The work does not state that Luke wrote it, nor do the Acts of the Apostles. The usual title of the former is, 'the gospel *according to Luke*.' The desire to have a Pauline gospel fixed itself upon the third and attributed it to Luke—an inference drawn from the Acts, where it is said that the author of the account of Paul's journey was his companion and accompanied him to Rome. That author was identified with Luke not only because of the notices in Coloss. iv. 14, 2 Timothy iv. 11, but also the tradition that he was with the apostle Paul in Rome. This identification, making the *we-document* in the Acts proceed from Luke, led at once to his authorship of the whole work. And when he was chosen as the writer of the Acts, the conclusion that he wrote the gospel necessarily followed. We shall show hereafter, that Luke was probably not the author of the Acts, though the latter incorporated in his larger document parts of an itinerary made by Luke. The gospel and Acts proceeded from the same hand; but it was not Luke's, as he probably fell in the Neronian persecution, A.D. 64.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The gospel may be divided into five parts.

1. Narrative of the birth and childhood of John the Baptist and of Jesus, i. 4–ii. 52.
2. Circumstances preparatory to Christ's public ministry, iii. 1–iv. 13.
3. His appearances in Galilee as the Messiah, iv. 14–ix. 50.

4. Discourses and events in his last journey to Jerusalem, with his triumphal entry into the city, ix. 51–xxi. 38.

5. His apprehension, crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension, xxii. 1–xxiv. 53.

After the preface, the evangelist gives the announcement of the births of John and of Jesus (i. 5–38), with Mary's visit to Elizabeth, followed by John's birth and circumcision (i. 39–80). The supernatural generation, the angelic annunciation to Mary, with the prophecies uttered by her and Elizabeth, the revelations from heaven made to the shepherds at night, the birth at Bethlehem instead of Nazareth, complete this introductory history, which, like the visit of the Magi guided by a miraculous star, is of late origin. A leading idea freely expanded and objectively painted lies at the root of each introductory account. In Matthew, the infant king receives the homage of proud heathenism with its wisdom and treasure; in Luke, humble shepherds witness the sign of him who came to save the poor. Both welcome the Christ; the proud and wise from afar—the poor and needy at hand. In either case the poetic portraiture is finely drawn. The journey of Mary to Elizabeth and the circumstances connected with it, partake of the marvellous. The story of the birth and infancy cannot be brought into harmony with Matthew's gospel in various particulars. Thus—

Luke supposes that before the birth of Jesus, which took place only incidentally at Bethlehem, Joseph and Mary lived at Nazareth. On the contrary, Matthew supposes that Bethlehem was their place of abode; for Joseph, but for the intervention of certain circumstances, would have returned to Judea after his flight into Egypt, to Bethlehem, not to Nazareth in Galilee. The birth at Bethlehem rests upon a precarious foundation, having originated in the view that the Messiah must spring from the city of David, according to Micah

v. 2—a view agreeing with Matthew's adaptation of the prophecy.

Nor is there room for the murder of the children in Bethlehem and the flight to Egypt in Luke's narrative. 'The Magi must have been at Bethlehem,' says the translator of Schleiermacher, 'before Jesus's presentation; for not only does Luke make the parents return immediately after that ceremony to Nazareth, but, according to his statement of the whole transaction, there is not the slightest conceivable motive for a fresh prolonged stay in the strange town of Bethlehem. No ground for the supposition either of employment in Bethlehem, or of an intention to settle there, is afforded by Luke's narrative, or even consistent with it; and all its vividness is destroyed, if we imagine that Joseph's return to Bethlehem was merely omitted. . . . The point must be allowed to be clear, when we take into the account that Joseph went to Bethlehem solely on account of the registry, how ill Mary was accommodated there in her labour, and how reluctant they must have been to undergo the fatigue of a double journey. Now, had the Magi arrived before the presentation, in that case, considering how near Bethlehem was to Jerusalem, intelligence would certainly have reached the former place of Herod's inquiries after the birth-place of the Messiah, and that the Magi discovered it by the direction thence obtained. Moreover the Magi must have had the dream, which warned them against returning to Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, and it is much more probable that they related, than that they suppressed it. Must not Joseph now, considering Herod's notorious character, have conceived suspicion from these circumstances, and abandoned the wholly needless journey to Jerusalem? The flight into Egypt, therefore, is indeed very naturally connected with the visit of the Magi and the attention it excited. . . . but the journey to Jerusalem is inconsistent with it.'¹

¹ *Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke*, translated, pp. 46, 47.

The next incident is the interesting one of Jesus teaching in the temple (ii. 41-52), when he was twelve years of age.

The 3rd chapter begins with the preaching and baptism of John, and proceeds to the baptism of Jesus, at which the Holy Spirit is said to have descended in a bodily shape. The spiritual fact is changed into a visible occurrence. A genealogical register of the descent of Joseph follows.

It is impossible to account for Luke's passing by the genealogy in Matthew and giving another. According to his preface he searched diligently, and took an independent course. He may have followed a written pedigree or pedigrees which the Jewish Christians had compiled; but without adopting it implicitly. Probably tradition had a share in his genealogy of Joseph as well as an existing register. Wittichen and Scholten think that it was a later addition to the gospel—an opinion for which there is no good basis. One thing is certain, that the Davidic descent of Jesus was commonly believed at the time, in conformity with the national Jewish idea that the Messiah was to be a descendant of David. When Luke wrote, an opinion was entertained that Joseph was only the *putative* father of Jesus, and therefore he throws in the clause *as was supposed*, in iii. 23. A higher origin is also ascribed to him in Matthew. Yet both evangelists trace his birth to David through Joseph, as if he were Joseph's son by natural descent. The later view is appended to the early belief embodied in the original genealogies, with which indeed it does not agree. The tables are dominated by an apologetic interest in showing Jesus's Davidic descent; for the early Christians were desirous to assert his Messianic dignity in opposition to the Jews, and derived it from his Davidic origin; *Messiah* and *the son of David* being in their opinion equivalent. As the registers proceeded from a doctrinal rather than a his-

torical motive, their artificial combinations and assumptions puzzle the harmonists, who labour in vain to bring them into agreement. All that they clearly convey is, that Jesus was the son of Joseph—a testimony prior to the belief of his supernatural birth.

Two able critics who have attempted to reconcile these genealogies, Wieseler and Lord Arthur Hervey, illustrate our remarks. Their arbitrary suppositions, often opposite to the plain records, are evidence of entanglement. Thus the latter concludes from the fact that a second genealogy is given (that of Luke), that the first gives Joseph's genealogy as legal successor to the throne of David; the second, Joseph's private genealogy. Hence Matthew's is not Joseph's real paternal stem. If it were, there would be no room for another! The absurdity of this is patent. The bishop asserts, without the least evidence, that Mary was first-cousin to her husband Joseph, 'so that, in point of *fact* though not in *form*, both genealogies are as much hers as her husband's.'¹

The genealogy of Joseph, as given by Luke, is different from, and in various points irreconcilable with, Matthew's.

1. Luke says that Joseph was the son of Heli; Matthew, that he was the son of Jacob. The former makes Salathiel the son of Neri; the latter, of Jechonias. The two genealogies agree in the two names Salathiel and Zorobabel alone, between David and Joseph the husband of Mary; the descent being traced through a different set of names. In Matthew, the line comes through Solomon and the known series of kings; in Luke, through Nathan and a succession of unknown persons. Though the genealogies therefore agree from Abraham to David, they differ from the latter onward. How is the difficulty about Joseph's parentage removed? Many assume a levirate marriage, according to which

¹ See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 666.

Matthew gives the *natural*, Luke the *legal* descent. This assumes that Heli and Jacob were only half-brothers, sons of the same mother but of different fathers. The same arrangement is called into requisition for the appearance of Salathiel and Zorobabel. There was a levirate marriage in the case of Salathiel's mother, so that Neri and Jechonias were half-brothers. Such complicated machinery betrays a hopeless cause. Neither Matthew nor Luke hints that Joseph's father was other than his real one. Besides, it was contrary to Jewish custom to introduce the natural father into a legal genealogy. The legal father alone was adduced.

Another method of bringing agreement into the genealogies is to assume that Luke gives the descent of Mary, while Matthew gives Joseph's. To unite this with the text, it is proposed by some to supply the Greek article¹ accompanying Heli with *the son in law* of Heli, which is against the context. With this hypothesis is united another, that Mary was an heiress, whose husband must have been in her register. But it is very improbable that Mary was heir to property; and if she were, that the law recognising her claim to it was still in force. It should also be noticed that the Davidic descent of Mary is unprovable. In Luke i. 27, it is stated that Joseph (not Mary) was of the house of David; which is repeated in ii. 4. Both evangelists give the descent of Joseph. The existence of the two registers shows the industrious efforts of the Jewish Christians in tracing the Davidic descent of Jesus, which it was difficult to do in face of the fact that he himself did not assume to be David's son, but simply the 'Son of man'; and their irreconcilable differences attest the embarrassment, as well as the free construing, of their compilers, who were anxious to find a royal lineage for the lowly Nazarene who claimed to be the Messiah; since the Messiah was to be of the house of

¹ τοῦ Ἠλίου.

David according to the Old Testament. But Jesus was another Messiah than that of Jewish expectation, an ideal deliverer different from theirs.

The narrative of Jesus's temptations in the wilderness follows, their order being different from Matthew's, and the fasting rising to the miraculous. After this He begins to preach in Galilee, at Nazareth in particular (iv. 14-30). The visit to Nazareth seems to be the same as that in Matt. xiii. 54, etc., Mark vi. 1, etc., and therefore Luke puts it too early. The twenty-third verse clearly implies that Jesus had already done great works in Capernaum; so that Luke contradicts his previous statement. The object for which the evangelist introduced it at this place is to account for Jesus going to Capernaum (verse 31). At the latter place he healed a demoniac, Peter's mother-in-law, and other sick persons (31-44).

The 5th chapter relates how Peter was called away from his occupation of fishing to be a disciple; after which Jesus cures a leper and one sick of the palsy (verses 1-26). This is succeeded by Levi's call and what happened in his house (27-39).

Passing over the cure of Jairus's daughter, of the woman with an issue of blood, of two blind men and a dumb one, the sending out of the twelve, and the message of John from prison, which the first gospel has here, Luke relates the incident of the disciples plucking ears of corn on the sabbath, and the cure of the man who had a withered hand (vi. 1-11). At this point the selection of the twelve apostles is described, which is followed by an abridged and altered account of the sermon delivered on *the mount*, according to Matthew by Jesus sitting; in the present gospel on *a plain* by Jesus standing. The report is fragmentary and of a later type, for it gives Jesus's words to the apostles a bearing upon oppressed and persecuted Christians generally, rather than upon the hearers with their Jewish and legal expectations.

The identity of the discourses reported by the two evangelists is generally acknowledged at the present day.¹

The 7th chapter contains the incident relating to the centurion at Capernaum, whose servant, though absent, was healed;² the raising of the widow of Nain's son, the message of the Baptist to Jesus, and the anointing by a penitent woman. The woman is usually thought to be Mary Magdalene; Luke himself, who introduces her immediately after (viii. 2), does not seem to have thought so. It is difficult to decide on the identity of the history respecting the woman who anointed Jesus in Luke's gospel with that in Matthew xxvi. 6, etc.; Mark xiv. 3, etc.; John xii. 1, etc. If the two accounts be the same, as is probable, Luke has modified and altered the circumstances of the case, connecting the woman's love as a manifestation of her faith, with the forgiveness of her sins. The main fact of the host being Simon, speaks for the sameness, and it is unlikely that the disciples would have blamed the woman for wasting her ointment (Matt. xxvi. 8) if Jesus had already accepted unction from another woman. The story is introduced at this place as a justification of verse 34.

The commencement of the 8th chapter consists of a summary notice of Jesus's ministry in Galilee resembling that in iv. 14, 15. This is followed by mention of the women who waited upon Him and supplied His wants (viii. 1-3). Jesus now propounds the parable of the sower (4-18). When His mother and brethren visit Him, He gives an enlarged and loving extension to *mother* and *brethren* (19-21). His stilling a storm on the lake is introduced without any chronological note, just as the visit of His relations is. In Matthew's gospel both occupy different positions from those in Luke.

¹ See Tholuck's *Ausführliche Auslegung der Bergpredigt Christi*, Einleitung, § 2, p. 17, etc., dritte Ausgabe.

² *δοῦλος* for the *παῖς* of Matthew, the latter being more correct and also confirmed by the *υἱὸς* of the fourth gospel.

Various miracles follow : the expulsion of devils from the Gadarene demoniac, the raising of Jairus's daughter and the cure of the woman with a bloody flux (22-56). The mythical character of the narrative respecting the legion of demons entering into the swine, which was meant perhaps to bear an allegorical interpretation against heathen idolatry and uncleanness, is apparent.¹

The 9th chapter narrates the sending forth of the twelve disciples, Herod's desire to see Jesus, the miraculous feeding of five thousand people, the confession of Peter, the transfiguration, the healing of a lunatic, the prediction of Christ's own death, and the dispute of the disciples about precedence (1-50). According to Luke and Mark, the disciples did not strive with one another about rank in the kingdom of Messiah as in Matthew, but about their individual position in the esteem of Jesus. The two verses 49 and 50, in which John asks of the Master whether he ought to have forbidden a person from following Jesus who had attempted to exorcise demons in His name, and the reply, are peculiar to Mark and Luke. The connection between the passage and what precedes it is obscure ; nor is Meyer's explanation satisfactory. The introduction of it has the appearance of arbitrariness (ix. 1-50).

The evangelist, having rapidly passed over the Galilean ministry of Jesus, giving only such parts of it as were most easily adapted to a Pauline tendency, introduces a section which is more or less peculiar to himself. In it he follows one document, if not more, and forsakes Matthew's narrative. The insertion in question being a compilation unchronological and partly unhistorical (ix. 51-xviii. 14) has given great trouble to harmonists.

The narrative of Jesus's journey to Jerusalem commences with His inhospitable treatment by the Samari-

¹ See Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, p. 451.

tans, and His demands upon such as wished to become followers (ix. 51-62). He then sends out seventy disciples to work miracles and to preach, who return and tell of their success (x. 1-24). To these non-apostolic disciples Luke transfers the most honourable injunctions given to the twelve apostles in Matthew's gospel. Their mission on extra-Judaic ground comports with the Pauline element pervading the gospel, but the historical character of the mission—its time, place, and originality of description—though strenuously defended by Neander, is subject to doubt. The motive of the mission was to show the comprehensiveness of the gospel, that it was meant for Gentiles as well as Jews. The question of a lawyer about obtaining eternal life, leads to the parable of the Good Samaritan (25-37). Whether this interview with the lawyer is the same as the later one of Matthew xxii. 35, etc., Mark xii. 28, etc., has been doubted. The identity of Matthew and Mark's accounts is apparent, but Luke's differs materially. Yet it is probable that all three are variations of one and the same tradition, the original incident having been shaped in different forms by the evangelical tradition, as Strauss supposes. The entertainment in the house of Martha and Mary is introduced indefinitely, without specification of place or time (x. 38-42); but the purport of the beautiful story describing it—beautiful in its simplicity—is to show the superiority of Pauline Christianity, the 'good part' which Mary had chosen, to the anxieties of a piety resting on works, that is, to Jewish Christianity.

At the request of His disciples, Jesus teaches them to pray, and that with earnest importunity (xi. 1-13). Matthew introduces the Lord's prayer into the sermon on the mount, in a place where it interrupts the proper connection; and in an enlarged, less original form than that here given. As Jesus was casting out a dumb spirit, He rebuked the Pharisees for their blasphemous imputation of His power to Beelzebub, blessed a certain

woman who addressed Him, preached to the people about unbelief, and reprehended the Pharisees, scribes, and lawyers (14-54). That His severe denunciations of the Pharisees in 37-54, were uttered at the table of a Pharisee, is unlikely. Place and time are both unsuitable, and disagree with Matthew's representation. In verses 40, 41 Luke departs from Matthew, and is not only less original but obscure. The forty-first verse is difficult. (Compare Matthew xxiii. 25, 26.)

The 12th chapter contains a discourse or discourses addressed to the disciples, but with apostrophes to the people generally. It is a compilation, the matter essentially original, the form proceeding from the evangelist himself, with the help of the first gospel.

The 13th chapter begins with the story of the Galileans murdered by Pilate in the temple, and the account of another occurrence in Siloam, upon which Jesus founds an exhortation to repentance. The parable of the barren fig-tree inculcates the same lesson (xiii. 1-9). This is followed by the cure of a diseased woman on the sabbath (10-17), various parables descriptive of the kingdom of God (18-21), with exhortations to enter into it, and Herod's alleged lying in wait for Jesus. This last (31-33) is peculiar to Luke, and would lead to the supposition that Jesus was in Galilee or Peræa; whereas it follows from ix. 51, etc., that he was now in Judea. The lamentation over Jerusalem (34, 35) is not in its proper place here, as it is in Matthew xxiii. 37, etc. It belongs to the time succeeding Christ's entry into the metropolis.

In the 14th chapter, Jesus cures a dropsical man on the sabbath, and utters a parable which contains directions for behaviour at table though violating courtesy to the host. Traditional words are put into an unsuitable frame. The parable is identical with that in Matthew xxii. 1-14, but is here modified in bringing out more fully the Pauline thought of the Gentiles

displacing the rejected Jews. This is followed by the parable of the great supper (15-24), and the claims of Jesus on His followers (25-35), showing that they must calculate well beforehand, lest they apostatise and become unprofitable like salt that has lost its savour (15-35).

The 15th chapter has three parables illustrating the mercy of God toward penitent sinners. The first is that of the lost sheep; the second, of the piece of silver; the third of the prodigal son. These teach the greatness of God's love to all, made prominent by Jesus in His intercourse with publicans and sinners, in opposition to the narrow prejudices of the Pharisees. They bear the stamp of the evangelist's own mind. Enlarged and beautified with characteristic traits, the original nucleus takes the form of allegory with a polemic tendency. So far they are diverted from their first shape; but none will blame the author for the wider aspect he has given them.

The following chapter contains the parable of the unjust steward, in which a culpable trait is used as the instrument of instruction. Verses 10-12 follow the parable, not unnaturally, but the 13th is interrupting, and seems to require a connecting link which has been lost. The hypocrisy of the covetous Pharisees is re-proved (14, 15), and these words are added: 'The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of heaven is preached, and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail. Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery'—which it is difficult, if not impossible, to connect with the preceding context. All attempts to link them on to the foregoing verses have been failures.¹ If we have recourse to Marcion's

¹ See Feine in the *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theol.* 1885, p. 33, etc.

reading, 'one tittle of *my words* to fail' (instead of *the law*), the adduced inviolability of the marriage tie exemplifies the assertion. Schenkel's solution that the 17th verse is an assertion of the Pharisees, and the 18th the rejoinder of Jesus, is unsatisfactory. The chapter concludes with the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, directed against worldly possessions. The first part of it has the Jewish Essene view of riches, beneficence, and poverty, for the steward is commended for the prudent use he makes of his needy circumstances, and the reward of his beneficence is spoken of; while the last part has the same object. Olshausen's attempt to show the antipharisaic tendency of the latter parable is unsuccessful. The evangelist does not make Lazarus the representative of Gentile Christianity. The gospel of Luke more fully than the others has indications of Jesus's contact with the Essenes; or if He had no personal converse with them, it shows at least that He was influenced by their opinions, since He expressed on various occasions their peculiar view of riches, poverty, and almsgiving. The parable of Dives and Lazarus is an example, in which the former does not appear an unrighteous or wicked man, but one merely rich; the latter, a miserably poor man, whose virtues, if he had any, are unmentioned. The one is punished in Hades because of his riches in the present world; the other is rewarded because of his poverty. The parable of the unjust steward teaches that with 'the mammon of unrighteousness,' that is unholy riches, one may buy friends who will receive him into everlasting habitations. Similarly in Luke vi. 24 we read, 'Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation'; and in xii. 33, 'Sell that ye have and give alms.' So too in vi. 20, 'Blessed be ye poor; for yours is the Kingdom of God.' 'Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold all things are clean unto you' (xi. 41). Such injunctions are inconvenient to Weiss and his school,

who say that the evangelist has whetted the sayings of Jesus to a one-sided pointedness which would have appeared to Paul hardly prudent. But there is good reason for believing in their perfect authenticity instead of attributing their sharpness to the author of the gospel; for some parallels are found in Matthew and Mark. What was said to the rich young man who was ordered to sell all that he had and distribute to the poor, is narrated in the three synoptics. The sermon on the mount has 'give to him that asketh thee,' without limitation. Mark has, 'how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God' (x. 23), to which an unauthentic explanation is appended. The same ascetic view appears in the narratives of the Acts. The renunciation of private property was a distinguishing tenet of the Essenes.

The blessedness of poverty with the injustice of riches, and the communistic possession of property, were part of the ideal life which Jesus taught His disciples, that they might be true sons of God in the coming Kingdom. These and similar doctrines, such as non-resistance, taking no anxious thought for the morrow, etc., were accepted by the earliest Christians, especially the converts from Judaism, who were called Ebionites from a Hebrew word meaning poor. The belief of Jesus in the immediate advent of the Kingdom of Heaven explains not only His indifference to the existing social order, but the qualifications essential to the members of the ideal community.

The 17th chapter contains other discourses of Jesus, respecting occasions of offence, the power of faith and the unprofitableness of works (1-10). The cure of ten lepers is introduced in an unsuitable manner; 'And it came to pass as he went to Jerusalem *that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.*' The object of the words in italics is plain, to account for a Samaritan being found among the lepers. But the meaning

is ambiguous; and the formula of introduction does not agree with ix. 51. The cure of the lepers is followed by discourses about the future appearing of the Son of Man, and the nature of the kingdom of God (20-37). Two parables, that of the importunate widow (xviii. 1-8), and that of the Pharisee and publican (9-14), convey instructions of different kinds. The former is connected with the coming of Jesus, an event which was so important to His disciples as to stir them up to unceasing prayer, because of the recompense it would bring them. He should then avenge His elect speedily. The second parable belonged originally to a different context, for it has no natural connection with the preceding.

At this point the sources used by Luke for the section terminated; at least, he leaves them here, falling back into the synoptic course of events.

Children were brought to Christ that He might touch them (xviii. 15-17). This is followed by the narrative of the rich young man (18-27), having its parallels in Matthew and Mark. In answer to Peter's assertion that he and his fellow-apostles had forsaken all to follow Jesus, the Master assures him that they should be abundantly rewarded (28-30). He then foretells His own death (31-34); and restores sight to a blind man at Jericho (35-43).

The 19th chapter narrates the conversion of Zaccheus the publican (1-10), the parable of the pounds which were entrusted to different persons, and the way in which they used them (11-28). This is followed by Jesus's triumphal entry into Jerusalem with His lamentation over the city (29-44). He commences by purifying the temple, driving out the buyers and sellers; and though the chief priests and scribes wished to destroy Him, they were unable as yet to accomplish their purpose (45-48).

Christ replies to a question of the chief priests and scribes respecting the source of His authority by asking

the source of John's baptism (xx. 1-8); after which He declares the parable of the vineyard (9-18). He silences the spies of the Pharisees, who put to Him an ensnaring question about tribute (19-26), and the Sadducees about the resurrection (27-40). He calls their attention to the point how Messiah can be the son of David (41-44), and warns the disciples against the scribes (45-47).

The 21st chapter contains Christ's commendation of the poor widow for her contribution to the treasury, followed by a discourse about the destruction of Jerusalem and His future coming. The last shows a later modification of the tradition than Matthew's. Here the persecutions of Christ's followers are represented as occurring *before* the wars and commotions mentioned; whereas in the first gospel they follow such disturbances (verse 12).

The 22nd chapter describes the conspiracy of the chief priests and scribes against Jesus, and the treachery of Judas Iscariot (1-6). This is followed by the preparations for eating the passover, and the meal itself, which He and His apostles partook of (7-38). At this supper Jesus speaks to them about ambition, because they disputed which should be accounted the greatest; and assures Peter that his faith should not fail though he might deny his Master thrice. The passage about the disputation of the disciples has no proper connection with its context. A similar fact had been already related by the evangelist (ix. 46); and we can scarcely resist the impression that if this be historical, its proper place is earlier. But it may have arisen from Matt. xx. 20, etc. The words addressed to Peter (31-35) are represented as spoken at the last supper, as in the fourth gospel; in Matthew and Mark they are spoken on the way to Gethsemane.

The exhortation to the disciples about their providing for combat and danger, is peculiar to this evangelist

(35-38). Its connection with the context and its originality can hardly be maintained, least of all by the method which Meyer proposes. The object of it is to account for the fact that Peter is subsequently in possession of a sword at the time of Jesus's apprehension. The rest of the chapter contains the agony in Gethsemane, His capture, Peter's denial, Jesus's shameful treatment, and His appearance before the Sanhedrim (39-66). The deviations from Matthew and Mark in the narration of these incidents are mostly for the worse.

The account given by Luke of the last supper which Jesus partook of with His disciples, differs from that of Matthew and Mark in some particulars. According to the common text Jesus took a cup, gave thanks, and gave it to the apostles to distribute among themselves (xxii. 17). Of this cup He did not partake Himself, as is implied in the following verse: 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.' Thus Christ did not observe the passover meal according to the law, for the drinking of wine by the master of the house was an essential part of the entertainment. But this explanation is misleading. Luke has transposed to the beginning of the institution what belongs to the end. The 16-18 verses are out of place, and should follow the 20th. Matthew and Mark have nothing corresponding to them. Their position has occasioned great difficulty and originated various readings, which may be seen in Tischendorf's edition of the text. As the 19th and 20th verses describe the proper institution of the Lord's supper, beginning after the second passover cup was drunk; the cup mentioned in the 17th verse corresponds to the third passover cup, which was handed to the disciples but not tasted by Jesus Himself. Why Luke should have the 16-18 verses immediately before the proper supper may be owing to the desire of emphasising the departure from

the old, and the commencement of a new order—Jesus's abandonment of the legal, and initiation of a new ceremony. He had now done with Jewish rites. Matthew and Mark give less prominence to the renunciation of such rites, though their words also imply Christ's leave-taking of the legal economy.

It has been already remarked, that the institution of the supper as given by Luke has a close agreement with Paul's account in the first epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 23–26. The practical influence of the apostle of the Gentiles gradually shaped and fixed a liturgical formula which the evangelist followed in preference to the words in Matthew. The allusion to the future in Luke and Paul, 'this do in remembrance of me,' is not in the other gospels and can scarcely be considered original.

The 23rd chapter relates how Jesus was led before Pilate, who wished to set Him free and sent Him to Herod. The latter, with his men of war, set Him at nought and mocked Him; after which He was remitted to Pilate (1–12). When Pilate had made several attempts to let Him go, he yielded to the persistent rage of the chief priests and rulers, and delivered Him up to execution. The blame is laid upon the Jews; and Pilate the heathen ruler is all but exculpated, in accordance with the Paulinism of the writer. Accordingly Jesus was led away to the place of crucifixion, where two malefactors were waiting execution at the same time and in the same manner. In xxiii. 40–43 a touching incident is introduced—disagreeing with Matthew, Mark, and the first epistle of Peter (iii. 19). The repentance of one of the robbers, his prayer to Jesus, his faith in the return of the suffering Messiah—of which the apostles themselves were not fully convinced at that time—favour the idea that this incident originated in the mind of the evangelist himself. The robber is the representative of repentant heathenism. At the

time of His death a preternatural darkness overshadowed the whole earth ; the centurion present glorified God ; the spectators became serious (13-49). Joseph of Arimathea took down the body from the cross, and laid it in his new sepulchre (50-56).

The last chapter narrates the resurrection of Jesus. The women that came to the sepulchre received the first intimation that he had risen from two angels, in consequence of which they returned and told the eleven as well as the rest, who were incredulous. Peter then ran to the grave, and seeing it empty, was amazed (1-12). He appeared first of all to Peter according to 1 Cor. xv. 5 ; and afterwards to two disciples on their way to Emmaus (13-35). The latter narrative is peculiar to Luke and belongs to a different source from the preceding context. Perhaps it was meant as a set-off against the appearance to Peter alone ; as though the risen one had shown Himself to those outside the apostolic circle. Mark gives a brief extract from the account. He then appeared to all the disciples in Jerusalem (36-43). An address to them is loosely appended to the preceding context, which may or may not have been made on the same occasion (44-49). Having led them out to Bethany, he blessed and was parted from them.

The chapter contains various things disagreeing with Matthew and Mark, as in verses 6, 36, 49, etc. ; besides much that is marvellous and inexplicable ; the angelic appearances to the women at the sepulchre, whose minds were in a peculiarly excited state ; the mode in which the body left the sepulchre ; the nature of the resurrection-body, Jesus's sudden disappearance in it, though he showed His hands and feet as if it consisted of flesh and bones still. The ascension took place on the day He rose, without an interval of forty days as is related in the Acts of the Apostles. But Luke does not always mark distinctions of time ; so that the forty

days may be inserted at the fiftieth verse. Ordinary principles of interpretation applied to the chapter fail to bring out any definite knowledge of its contents; and the higher criticism itself must be contented with idealising. The chapter rests on no primitive tradition, but is rather the free product of the writer's mind. The appearances of the risen Saviour are ideal; and the narrative of the two disciples is an echo of Christ's revelation to Paul on his way to Damascus. The partaking of bread at Emmaus shadows forth the last supper, where Christians come into close union with the glorified Head. Thus the spirit of Pauline Christianity is reflected in the allegorical description. Conservative critics will attach importance to the letter of the evangelic record, to the empty sepulchre, the difficulty of supposing mere visions in the mind of the disciples the second day after Jesus died, to the numerous witnesses for the bodily resurrection, and the probability of miracle here if at all. They will hesitate to forsake the old faith of the Church—a step involving the serious assumption that the apostles were deceived. Others, more speculative but not less honest, will resolve the fact into a spiritual resurrection having the souls of the disciples for its theatre; finding an explanation of that state of mind in the natural reaction necessarily following the first impression of the death of Jesus, psychologically possible. They will attribute visions of the risen Jesus narrated in the gospels, to popular imagination, conceiving that the memoirs could not but depict him in a form more or less corporeal. Feeling the force of objections to the reanimation of a body, of the contradictory statements of the evangelists, and the existence of a predisposition to visions in the first Christian believers, they will hesitate to accept the literal. Christianity does not fall with the denial of the resurrection. A thing surrounded with historical and other difficulties cannot be made a corner-stone in the edifice.

CHARACTERISTICS.

1. Compared with Matthew, Luke has fewer original traditions, and his representations are less historical. He handles the materials freely; and His own reflectiveness appears more prominently. The discourses and facts are given in a shape not so primitive or faithful as they are in his predecessor. Thus the transfiguration of Jesus, which was a foretaste of His future glorification, is put too early. Instead of occupying its proper position in His life, as the culminating point of the revelation of Himself to the disciples, it is inserted in the midst of teachings respecting the kingdom of God and the Messiahship of Jesus. It comes when the minds of the apostles were wholly unprepared for the occurrence, or rather for what it was meant to signify. Only a small part of Jesus's ministry was past when it took place, according to Luke; in Matthew that ministry was near its close, so that the disciples must have been more susceptible of the lesson it was meant to inculcate and the future it foreshadowed.

The narrative of the temptation in Luke is not so original as in Matthew. Instead of its succeeding acts forming a climax, the last being the strongest and most difficult, Luke gives the last place to the desire of Satan that Jesus should cast Himself down from a pinnacle of the temple. 'Every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' is altered into 'every word of God,' apparently to avoid anthropomorphism; and the addition, 'for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it,' indicates reflection on the extent of the devil's power.

The sermon on the mount is also given in an incomplete form. Originality does not belong to it here, though it has still some genuine parts. Being adapted to a later age and having a more general tendency, it shows reflectiveness. Even in Matthew, it has under-

gone alterations and received additions. In Luke it is not a comprehensive ethical discourse, as it is in Matthew, but treats of the way in which sinners should act under reproaches and persecutions and be consoled.

In Luke xvii. 23 we see a modification of the corresponding part of Matthew. The words 'And they shall say to you, See here, or, See there: go not after them nor follow them,' are inappropriate in this context, and must have stood at first in a place where false Messiahs were spoken of. In like manner the twenty-fifth verse interrupts the connection, being a reminiscence of the disciples wrongly inserted by the evangelist. Luke interprets the Greek word ¹ in Matt. viii. 6, etc., incorrectly by *servant* ² (Luke vii. 2), for which reason he adds 'who was dear to him.' But he allows the original word to remain in the seventh verse. There is no doubt that Matthew uses it for *son* (compare xvii. 18).

But while it is the rule that Luke's gospel presents a record less original than Matthew's, it is not without examples of words uttered and actions performed more correctly reported than they are in the first gospel. Thus in xviii. 19 the phrase 'Why callest thou me good' is original; while Matthew's 'Why dost thou ask me concerning the good' is a later modification.

2. The evangelist's leading object was to set forth Paulinism in a mild, conciliatory form. While, therefore, Judaism is not lessened unduly, Paulinism is advanced. The writer was a moderate Paulinist, wishing to bring Judaism and Paulinism together in the sphere of a comprehensive Christianity where the former would merge into the latter. In conformity with this purpose he describes the irreconcilable opposition between Jesus and His opponents, showing that Judaism was not the proper sphere in which His work could be realised. Jesus is not only the Jewish Messiah as He is in the first gospel, but the Redeemer of mankind (ii. 11 ;

¹ παῖς.

² δοῦλος.

xxiv. 47); not merely the son of David but of God, bringing all men into a state of reconciliation to Him. The teaching of Jesus is not so much the leading theme of the evangelist, as His *person and work*, His manifestation as the Son of the Most High. The divinity of His person is connected with the divine origin and character of His work. He is an extraordinary being like the second Adam of Paul, working out a divine plan for the redemption of the human race, combating the higher spiritual world, expelling demons, conversing with angels, well-nigh omniscient and omnipotent, destroying the kingdom of Satan. The power of darkness, whose instruments are His Jewish opponents, is overthrown. The miraculous is highly coloured; and the soil for the logos-doctrine of the fourth gospel is in a great measure prepared. Metaphysics are applied to the person of Jesus. The raising from the dead of the widow's son at Nain, going beyond the raising of Jairus's daughter from the bed on which she departed, approximates the miracle wrought upon Lazarus, who had been four days in the grave. It is the catholic tendency of the gospel that gives it a Pauline aspect, and has strengthened the belief of its author being a friend of the apostle. The writer conceives of Christ and Christianity in their relation to humanity, rather than to a particular people. Jewish exclusiveness is modified before a wider view of Jesus and His work; and the Son of man, whom Matthew depicts as taking away infirmities and sicknesses, appears as one who came to seek and save the lost. Such purpose on the part of Luke accounts for many peculiarities in the selection and arrangement of the materials which make up the gospel.

3. A Pauline tendency is apparent. In the time of the evangelist Christianity had overpassed the narrow limits of Judaism, showing its expansive spirituality. The apostle Paul had changed its primitive Judaic character for a more liberal one. Hence Luke indicates

the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God (xvii. 20), even in describing its origin. That his views are more comprehensive than Matthew's appears not only in what he narrates, but in what he omits—in the mode of his statements and the arrangement of his materials.

The right of the heathen to be received into the divine kingdom is always adduced. Thus Jesus came to seek and to save that which was lost (xix. 10). The genealogy is carried up to Adam, indicating that the human race had an interest in Christ, who is not said to be a king of the royal house of David as in Matthew. This interest in the heathen appears in the prominence given to the Samaritans and the presence of Jews in their territory (ix. 52; xvii. 11). Jewish intolerance against that people is rebuked (ix. 55, 56); and they are placed in a favourable light over against the people of Israel (xvii. 11–19), even the priests and Levites. Seventy disciples were appointed, whose mission was to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, beyond the twelve tribes of Israel to whom *the apostles* were specially charged to announce it (x.). This enlargement of the circle of disciples exhibits a view which regards the heathen as the objects of Jesus's care not less than the Jews, and therefore creates a special mission. Hence some instructions addressed to the twelve in Matthew are transferred to the seventy; and others are omitted as those in Matt. x. 5, 6. The tendency to depreciate the twelve, in comparison with the seventy, is obvious in the ninth and tenth chapters; complimentary titles applied to the former in the first gospel receiving another and wider application. The mission to the Gentile world is put before the narrower Jewish one, with larger proportions and success. In like manner, the incident about Jesus paying tribute for the support of the temple-worship (Matt. xvii. 24–27), and the fact that saints rose from their graves at the death of Jesus

and went into *the holy city* (xxvii. 51-53), are left out.

The same tendency is observable in the prominence given to free grace and mercy. Instead of the epithet *perfect* in the first gospel, which sounds like the phraseology of the law (v. 48), Luke has *merciful* (vi. 36); and in the parable of the prodigal son, the love of God towards sinners is depicted far in excess of the representation given by the first evangelist (Matt. xviii. 12-14). The same remark applies to the account of the woman who was a sinner (vii. 36-50), and to the narrative respecting Zaccheus (xix. 1-10), where the Pauline doctrine of grace is strongly set forth. The paragraph relating to the two malefactors (xxiii. 39-43), also shows the doctrine of justification by faith in opposition to works. What is said about the unprofitable servants (xvii. 10), as well as the subjective nature of the kingdom of God (xvii. 20, 21), is of the same character. The institution of the last supper (xxii. 14-19) is confessedly Pauline. And the appearances of the risen Saviour in Jerusalem show a dependence on 1 Cor. xv. 1-7. The Pauline tendency can hardly be mistaken by the reader of the gospel, especially if the work be carefully compared with that of Matthew.

But the Pauline elements do not exclude passages of a different colour. Statements characteristically Jewish occur, though they are less numerous. The fact that the primitive Judaical representations are not effaced from the history is so far favourable to its originality. The evangelist's later views did not always mould authentic materials. But such fidelity has one disadvantage, that it leaves uncongenial elements in juxtaposition. To the original Jewish tradition belong the introductory history and account of the Temptation, the sayings condemning earthly riches and pronouncing the poor happy (vi. 20-25; xvi. 19-26), the recommending of deeds to procure a recompense (xvi. 9;

xviii. 29, 30); the contrast of the present and future dispensations.¹ In like manner the perpetual duration of the law (xvi. 17),² and the future prospects presented to the disciples (xviii. 30), are Judaistic. So also the passages that recognise the law and the prophets (iv. 21; v. 14; xvi. 29–31; xvii. 14; xviii. 20; xxiii. 56; xxiv. 44), and the mild view of the old dispensation (v. 39).³ The presence of these Judaistic elements, so far from prejudicing the historical character of the gospel, attests it, because they show the Jewish-Christian ground on which the narratives first stood. The opposite Pauline tendency affects the credibility unfavourably. Some of the primitive or Judaistic materials have an Essene colouring, especially those in which Christ is the speaker. This accords with the very probable belief of Essene influence upon his early training.

The twofold character of the materials to which we have now alluded is best seen in its contradictory aspect at xvi. 16, 17: ‘The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.’ The sixteenth verse gives a Pauline view of the law, viz. that Mosaism ceased with the Baptist, which cannot be the original sentiment; and yet the perpetuity of the law in all its minutiae is immediately subjoined. The words in Matthew, ‘all the prophets and the law *prophesied* until John,’ are more original. Luke’s object was to bridge over the ground between Jewish and Gentile Christians, by the introduction of a moderate Paulinism.

4. The evangelist has a considerable portion of new

¹ ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος and ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος or ἐκεῖνος, xvi. 8; xviii. 30; xx. 34, 35.

² According to the usual reading.

³ The last verse, however, is suspicious. It is wanting in Marcion, Eusebius, D. and MSS. of the old Latin version.

matter. Thus he has the parable of the two debtors (vii.), of the Good Samaritan (x.), of the friend going to another at night to borrow bread (xi.), the rich man who built large barns (xii.), of the barren fig-tree (xiii.), the lost piece of silver (xv.), the prodigal son (xv.), the unjust steward (xvi.), the rich man and Lazarus (xvi.), the unjust judge (xviii.), and the Pharisee and publican (xviii.). He records the miraculous draught of fishes (v.), the raising of the widow of Nain's son (vii.), the cure of a woman having a spirit of infirmity (xiii.), of a dropsical man (xiv.), of ten lepers (xvii.), the conversion of Zaccheus (xix.), the healing of Malchus's ear (xxii.), and the journey of two disciples to Emmaus (xxiv.).

The first two chapters are also peculiar to him.

Besides these larger portions, many smaller incidents and traits are given by him alone, such as the questions put by the people to John the Baptist and his answers (iii. 10-14), his weeping over Jerusalem (xix. 39-44), the topic of Jesus's conversation with Moses and Elijah on the mount of transfiguration (ix. 28-36), the assurance to Simon that his faith should not fail (xxii. 31, 32), the bloody sweat (44), the fact of Jesus being sent to Herod (xxiii. 7-12), His words addressed to the women that followed Him when He was led away to crucifixion (27-31), and the penitent thief (40-43). We also owe to Luke those affecting words, so appropriate and beautiful, which Jesus uttered as He expired, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' The language which Matthew puts into His lips, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' is original; but that given by Luke seems entitled to equal credit.

The principal omissions of Luke are Matt. xiv. 3-xvi. 12; xix. 1-12; xxi. 1-16, 20-28; xxvi. 6-13.

5. The large part of Luke's gospel which is peculiar and in several respects embarrassing, is ix. 51-xviii. 14, commencing with Christ's preparation to depart from

Galilee for Jerusalem, and ending before his arrival at Jericho. It is distinguished from the rest of the gospel, by its containing discourses rather than facts. The position which all the precepts, parables, and speeches here occupy, represents them as delivered in the interval between Christ's preparation to leave Galilee and his arrival at Jericho. Yet it is certain that some of the discourses and parables are put in a wrong place. Thus Jesus's lamentation over the fate of Jerusalem (xiii. 34, 35) is uttered in Perea; whereas Matthew says that it was at Jerusalem (xxiii. 37-39). The section begins with the announcement that Jesus is about to leave Galilee and go to Jerusalem through Samaria; but from x. 25 and onward He is still in Galilee. In ix. 53 the Samaritans are said to have refused Him hospitality, because His face was set for Jerusalem; yet this city was not the immediate object of His journey. The Galilean ministry of Jesus is presented in a different aspect by Luke from that of Matthew. The latter makes it proceed in a natural order of development, till the time when the antagonism of His enemies had gathered strength to accomplish His death. Remote from the centre of Judaism, in a province of Palestine not much esteemed, Jesus is represented as actively engaged in His divine mission till the time had come that He should go to Jerusalem and meet the full force of Jewish enmity. Luke does not present the subject in this light. Instead of Jesus spending the greater part of His ministry in Galilee, the evangelist shortens His abode there to throw the main portion of that ministry into the journey which he took through Perea before suffering, dying, and rising again. Luke makes His death and resurrection the great end and object of His life. Hence this journey contains Jesus's chief conflicts with the Pharisees and scribes. The nearer he approaches Jerusalem, the more vehement and frequent do these conflicts become. Thus the materials are

separated by Luke. The anti-Jewish side of Jesus's ministry is singled out and receives a more definite place by itself, instead of being thrown along with the general mass of the materials composing the evangelical history. How far the sources which Luke followed in these eight chapters contributed to their peculiar arrangement, it is impossible to know. One of them, usually called a *gnomology*, was probably a collection of discourses which had been gradually formed by accessions of new matter. Bishop Marsh has remarked, that throughout the whole of the long section (Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14) not one of the places in which parables and discourses were delivered is mentioned by *name*; and that therefore the *gnomology* had the same indefiniteness.¹ It is doubtful, however, whether that was a principal cause of Luke's ignoring the time when many of the discourses were delivered. The indefinite way in which places are mentioned (ix. 52; x. 38; xi. 1; xvii. 12) may be owing to the subjectivity of the evangelist, or his wish to be consistent by not naming places and times that would clash with the commencement. The compilation of the section is loose, and the materials put together unchronologically. Some parts point to Galilee and Samaria as the scene; and in one place (x. 38) even Bethany at Jerusalem is assumed. The materials are arranged without skill, or rather they are carelessly thrown together.

6. Luke shows circumstantiality in separating various particulars and incidents which are grouped in Matthew. His pictorial power is considerable, especially in vii. 1–10 and viii. 41–56; but it is not equal to Mark's, though superior to Matthew's. In general his narrative is loose and unconnected, one event succeeding another without definite mark of time or proper formula of transition. This does not look as if he intended to

¹ Translation of *Michaclis*, vol. iii. part i. pp. 404, 405, 2nd ed.

observe chronological succession. Indefinite expressions are frequent, such as 'and it came to pass when he was in a certain city' (v. 12); 'and it came to pass on a certain day' (v. 17); 'and it came to pass also on another sabbath' (vi. 6); 'and one of the Pharisees desired him' (vii. 36); 'now it came to pass on a certain day' (viii. 22); 'now Herod the tetrarch heard of all,' etc. (ix. 7); 'it came to pass, as he was alone praying' (ix. 18); 'then there arose a reasoning among them' (ix. 46); 'and it came to pass that as he was praying in a certain place' (xi. 1); 'and he was casting out a devil' (xi. 14); 'and he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath' (xiii. 10); 'then said he' (xiii. 18); 'and it came to pass as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day' (xiv. 1); 'and there went great multitudes with him' (xiv. 25); 'then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him' (xv. 1); 'and he said also unto his disciples' (xvi. 1); 'and when he was demanded of the Pharisees' (xvii. 20); 'and it came to pass that on one of those days' (xx. 1). This prominent feature attracts greater attention because of Luke's announcement to write everything in chronological succession. His sources did not furnish minute specifications of time, and he could not supply the deficiency. On the whole, the gospel is distinguished by the selection and arrangement, not by a thorough recast, of pre-existing materials. Instead of being moulded afresh, they are exposed and distributed in a different way, without *radical transformation*. The tendency of the author does not reach a complete remodelling of the synoptic literature. His mediating spirit is that of the post-apostolic period, when strict Paulinism was softened, and the sharp angles of Judaic views had been rubbed off.

RELATION OF THE GOSPEL TO THAT OF MARCION.

The connection of Marcion with the present gospel has been a fruitful source of discussion. That early heretic, as he is called, looked upon Paul as the only genuine apostle, and the primitive ones as corrupters of evangelical truth. In conformity with his peculiar views, he admitted nothing but Paul's epistles. Disregarding the gospels, he used one of his own. The question is, What was Marcion's original gospel, sanctioned, as he affirmed, by Paul himself? Was it an independent document, older than the canonical Luke and the basis of it? This is the view upheld by Ritschl¹ and Baur² with great acuteness, and maintained with an amount of ingenuity which might have been more usefully applied. It reappears in Waite's 'History of the Christian Religion.' Was the gospel of Luke abridged and somewhat altered? Such is the opinion of Tertullian, Irenæus, Epiphanius, and the fathers generally, which Volkmar³ has proved with convincing arguments against Ritschl and Baur. The old view will not be seriously disturbed again while the treatise of Volkmar exists. Marcion dealt freely with the letter of Scripture, as was usual in his time when various nameless gospels were current and no canon existed. His recension of Luke was not called after that evangelist nor any apostle; but his disciples styled it the *gospel of Christ*. Being a Pauline Christian, he used the Pauline gospel; abridging, adding, and probably altering at times; but not doing all that his accusers say against him; for the invectives of Tertullian, Irenæus, Epiphanius, and others cannot be accepted as just. Having other MSS. than

¹ *Das Evangelium Marcion's und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas.* 1846.

² *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, p. 397, et seq.

³ *Das Evangelium Marcion's.* 1852.

Marcion's, these opponents taxed him with corrupting the text because theirs had not the same readings.¹ It is rash to assert the falseness of Marcion's readings, as if they deviated from the pure text. Their agreement in various instances with the old Latin and the Curetonian Syriac is in their favour.

The use of Marcion's gospel now is to correct Luke's text, or to furnish at least some readings equal if not superior in value to those of ancient MSS. A few original ones may be collected from the fragments which remain. In xi. 2, it is probable that his 'let thy Holy Spirit come' is original, instead of 'hallowed be thy name,' borrowed apparently from Matt. vi. 9. In x. 22, it is pretty certain that the original reading was 'no one *knew*² the Father, save the Son,' etc.; the present tense *knoweth* having got into the text from the use made of the aorist by the Gnostics. The same reading is implied in Justin,³ and is also in the Clementine Homilies,⁴ with a slight variation. According to Irenæus,⁵ the Marcosians had it. Clement and Origen use it in almost all their citations, and Tertullian has *cognovit* (knew).⁶ It is also highly probable that Marcion has preserved the original text in Luke xviii. 19, 'Why callest thou me good? One is good, the Father.'⁷ The same applies to v. 39, which verse was omitted by Marcion; and the sense is better without it. There is manuscript authority for its omission. In xvii. 2, it is doubtful whether the reading, 'it were good for him *if he had not been born or*,'⁸ be older than our present one. It is supported, however, by several MSS. of the old Latin, as well as by Tertullian and Origen. In xvi. 17, 'it is easier for

¹ 'Marcionem e corruptorum codicis evangelici numero eximendum esse puto.' Griesbach.

² ἔγνων, not γινώσκει.

³ *Apol.* i. 63. *Dial.* 100.

⁴ xvii. 4.

⁵ *Adv. Hæres.* i. 20. 3.

⁶ *Adv. Marcion.* ii. 27.

⁷ τί (or μή) με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστιν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ.

⁸ εἰ μὴ ἐγεννήθη ἡ.

heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle *of my words* to fall;'¹ the originality of the phrase in italics is advocated by Baur and Hilgenfeld, not only because it suits the context, but because Tertullian seems to admit it and does not accuse his opponent of altering the text. Chapter xxiii. 43, containing the words of Jesus to the penitent robber, were wanting in Marcion's gospel. Epiphanius indeed says that the heretic, whom he accuses so often, 'cut them off,' but the charge is improbable. According to Origen, the words in question were a source of trouble to some; and their interpolation was suspected. They are different in D; and Origen has, 'the paradise *of God*.' At all events, they disagree with Marcion's belief that Jesus went to Hades, to deliver Cain, Korah, Dathan, and other sinners.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

We have just seen that the gospel was prior to Marcion. An early witness to its existence has been found in the New Testament itself, viz. 1 Tim. v. 18, where we read, '*for the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire.*' The formula, *The Scripture saith*, marks the words as a quotation; and the latter clause occurs only in Luke x. 7. The quotation does not carry the date of Luke up to the first century nor beyond A.D. 110; for the first epistle to Timothy was not written by Paul.

It was regarded at first as the document of a private man, which put forth no claims to apostolicity or public authority; and Marcion introduced it into the circle of apostolic writings by using it as a primitive source of Pauline doctrine.

The work itself exhibits evidence of appearing after

¹ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν.

the destruction of Jerusalem. The *immediate* coming of the Son of man is not stated. Thus when Matthew says, 'There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom,' Luke has, 'till they see the kingdom of God.' In Matthew, after Jesus had announced the impending destruction of Jerusalem, the apostles ask 'When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, *and of the end of the world?*' but in Luke the apostles merely repeat the first question about the destruction of Jerusalem, 'What sign will there be when these things (the destruction of Jerusalem) shall come to pass?' Matthew puts the destruction of Jerusalem and the second advent in close succession, '*immediately after* the tribulation of those days,' etc.; while Luke writes, 'These things must first come to pass, but the end is *not immediately.*' 'Before all these things they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you,' etc. It is also observable, that whereas Matthew makes the second coming succeed the desecration of the temple as a part of *the end* (xxiv. 14), Luke omits the words 'then shall the end come,' putting 'And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that *the desolation thereof is nigh*' (xxi. 20). A careful comparison shows that Luke separates two events which Matthew puts closely together. The destruction of Jerusalem was already past. xxi. 24 implies that the city had been trodden down by the Gentiles *till their times should be fulfilled*. Experience had shown that no alteration or improvement in the existing state of things could be expected soon after the Jewish state was dissolved; but that the Roman yoke must be endured for a while. When this evangelist wrote, the Christians had been exposed to persecution, which is put before the wars and rebellions, reversing the order of succession given by Matthew, and showing that the latter had not occurred, though the persecutions had.

The writer indicates a date posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem by changing the succession of events.

That Mark's gospel had not preceded Luke's may be inferred from the very probable supposition that if the writer of the latter had known the tradition about the materials of the former being traceable to Peter, he would not have contradicted, or even seriously departed from, any of them. Yet he does contradict Mark in making Jesus turn and give Peter the look which made him repent; implying that the apostle was in the same apartment with his Master, whereas Mark, agreeing with Matthew, represents Peter as *beneath* (*without*, Matthew), during the examination of Jesus in an inner and higher chamber. There is also an inconsistency between xxii. 58, 61 and Mark xiv. 66, 70. In like manner, the insertion xxiii. 39-43 disagrees with Mark xv. 32. The writer of Luke's gospel makes the inscription on the cross to be written in three languages, and alters what Herod said (compare Luke ix. 7-9 and Matthew xiv. 2 with Mark vi. 14-16), as if the Pauline author were reluctant to attribute a popular superstition to a cultivated heathen. Besides, he substitutes three new sayings of Jesus on the cross for the original one. Let it not be said that the tradition was unknown to the author of the third gospel. If it were well founded, he must have heard it before Papias. We may concede that the alleged Luke might have occasionally added to or altered particulars in the Petrine gospel; his arrangement of incidents might be different in consequence of a Pauline bias; but he would scarcely state a fact contradictory to one in a document apostolically authenticated like Mark's gospel.

These considerations, along with the gospel's posteriority to that of Matthew, lead to the conclusion that it was written early in the second century, perhaps about A.D. 110.

It is not easy to ascertain the birthplace of the

document. Some phenomena favour Rome ; others, Asia Minor. The former is more probable. The writer supposes that his readers were not well acquainted with Palestine, as we see from i. 26 ; iv. 31 ; xxiv. 13. But his geographical explanations cease when the narrative relates to Italy (Acts xxviii.). Hence it is likely that he wrote in Rome. Köstlin's attempt to fix upon Ephesus has been refuted by Zeller ; and the Achaia or Macedonia hypothesis of Hilgenfeld is baseless. If the gospel was written at Rome, Marcion got his first knowledge of it there.

FOR WHOM WRITTEN.

The immediate purpose for which the evangelist wrote was the instruction of Theophilus, who must have been a Gentile, not a native or inhabitant of Palestine. The epithet translated *most excellent* prefixed to the name, has been thought to indicate rank, because it is assigned to Felix and Festus in the Acts. But it does not necessarily show that he was a man of eminence or authority. The word rather indicates the affectionate regard which the evangelist entertained for him.¹ The opinion that Theophilus lived in Italy, perhaps at Rome, has been favourably received, being founded on his supposed acquaintance with the geography of Italy and Sicily, shown in Acts xxviii. And the fact that explanatory geographical remarks are wanting in the record of apostolic travels through Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece (Acts xiii.–xvi.), while the historian hastens to the conclusion in the latter part of the book, is supposed to favour the same view. Little weight belongs to that sort of proof. That the evangelist had a Gentile or Gentiles in view, is apparent from the tenor of the gospel. Many of his explanations were unnecessary for

¹ It was not unusual to employ it as nearly synonymous with *φίλτατος*.

Jews, as ‘the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, *which is called the passover*’ (xxii. 1); ‘and at night he went out, and abode in the mount *that is called the Mount of Olives*’ (xxi. 37); ‘Capernaum, *a city of Galilee*’ (iv. 31); ‘*a city of Galilee named Nazareth*’ (i. 26); ‘Arimathea, *a city of the Jews*’ (xxiii. 51); ‘the country of the Gadarenes, *which is over against Galilee*’ (viii. 26); ‘Emmaus, *which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs*’ (xxiv. 13). He also puts a Greek inscription over the cross. The genealogy of Jesus is traced up to Adam, the common parent of the human family; while Matthew traces it to Abraham. The reigns of Roman emperors are also employed for marking the date of Jesus’s birth and John’s preaching. There is, therefore, little doubt that the evangelist, himself a Gentile, wrote for Gentiles, as Origen long ago remarked, to his friend Theophilus in the first instance, that he might have a consecutive history on which to rely.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

The diction of the evangelist is the same in substance as that of the other synoptists; purer and less Hebraic, with the exception of the first two chapters. The preface is remarkably pure, presenting a contrast not only to the 1st chapter, which has many Hebraisms, but in a less marked degree to the whole of the gospel. It has therefore been thought, that had the author been at liberty to follow his own inclination or judgment, the work would have been composed in more classical Greek.

The three hymns in the 1st chapter, which are chiefly made up of passages from the Old Testament, are the most Hebraic; next to them, the speeches incorporated in the narrative; last of all, the narrative itself. The following are the leading peculiarities.

1. *ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ*, i.e. *וַיְהִי* with an infinitive follow-

ing, occurs twenty-three times ; in Mark twice ; not in Matthew. The construction *ἐν τῷ* with the infinitive occurs thirty-seven times in Luke ; in Matthew thrice.

2. *ἐγένετο ὥς* in designations of times, six times ; or *ὥς* without *ἐγένετο*, nine times.

3. *ἐγένετο δέ* or *καὶ ἐγένετο* with *καὶ* and *καὶ ἰδοὺ*, ii. 6-9 ; v. 12, 17, 18 ; viii. 40, 41 ; ix. 29, 30, 37-39 ; xiv. 1, 2 ; xxiv. 4.

4. The combination of a protasis (such as *καὶ ἐν τῷ* with an infinitive or *καὶ ἐγένετο*) with an apodosis beginning with *καὶ* is peculiar to Luke, ii. 27, 28 ; v. 1.

5. Two substantives are united, the latter serving to explain the former. This is especially the case with *ἀδικία*, a word that does not occur in Matthew, but which is four times in Luke : xiii. 27 ; xvi. 8, 9 ; xviii. 6. Similar combinations are *βάπτισμα μετανοίας* iii. 3 ; *πνεῦμα δαιμονίου* iv. 33.

6. The frequent use of *καρδία* answering to *כֶּלֶס* is seen in such phrases as *διατηρεῖν*, *συμβάλλειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, *τίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*.

7. *ὑψιστος*, *יְהוָה*, is applied to God five times. Mark has it once.

8. *οἶκος*, meaning *household, family*, *בֵּית*, is peculiar to the third gospel and the Acts, though found in the epistles.

9. *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, *הֲנֵה*, occurs four times.

10. *νομικοί* is used six times for the customary *γραμματεῖς*, because more intelligible to Gentiles.

11. *ἐπιστάτης* for *ῥαββί*, also six times, shows a like preference.

12. *ἄπτειν λύχνον* or *πῦρ* instead of *καίειν λύχνον*, four times ; not in Matthew or Mark.

13. The sea of Galilee is called *λίμνη*, not *θάλασσα*, five times.

14. *παραλελυμένος* occurs twice (or once, according to another reading). Matthew and Mark have always *παραλυτικός*.

15. The neuter participle with the article is frequently employed instead of a substantive, as in ii. 27; iv. 16; viii. 34; xxii. 22; xxiv. 14.

16. The infinitive with the genitive of the article, indicating design or result: i. 9, 57, 73; ii. 21, 27; v. 7; xii. 42; xxi. 22; xxii. 6, 31; xxiv. 16, 25, 29, twenty-five times in all. Mark has it once, and Matthew six times.

17. The substantive verb with a participle is often used for the finite verb: i. 10, 20, 21, 22; ii. 26, 51; iv. 16, 20, 31, 38, 44; v. 1, 11, 17, 18, 29; vi. 12; vii. 8; viii. 40; ix. 45, 53; xi. 14; xii. 52; xiii. 10, 11; xiv. 1; xv. 1; xvii. 35; xix. 47; xxi. 17, 24; xxiii. 12; xxiv. 13, 32; forty-eight times in all.

18. The use of *δὲ καὶ* for the sake of emphasis is frequent, as in ii. 4; iii. 9, etc.; twenty-nine times altogether.

19. *εἰ δὲ μῆγε* occurs five times. Mark and John have only *εἰ δὲ μῆ*.

20. The neuter article is put before interrogatory clauses: i. 62; ix. 46; xix. 48; xxii. 2, 4, 23, 24.

21. The preposition *σύν* occurs very often, twenty-four times in the gospel, and fifty-one in the Acts. Matthew and Mark have *μετά* instead, or avoid the use of it.

22. *ἀπενίζειν* followed by *εἰς*, or with the dative: iv. 20; xxii. 56. Paul is the only other writer who has it twice, in the second epistle to the Corinthians.

23. *εἰπεῖν πρὸς* is very frequent in the gospel. *λέγειν πρὸς* also occurs. So does *λαλεῖν πρὸς*. The first is used elsewhere only in the fourth gospel. The same construction is found with other verbs, as *ἀποκρίνεσθαι*, *ἀπαγγέλλειν*, *συζητεῖν*: *λαλεῖν περὶ τινος* also occurs four times, which the other synoptists avoid.

24. Participles are frequent, to give vividness to the narrative, as *ιδὼν*, *ἀναστās*, *ἐγερθεῖς*, *στραφεῖς*, *ἐπιστρέψας*, *σταθεῖς*, *ἐπιστάς*, *ἐστώς*, *καθίσας*, *πесών*. Luke even

puts two together without a copula, as ii. 36; iii. 23; iv. 20; v. 11, etc.

25. The evangelist shows a preference for verbs compounded with *διά* and *ἐπί*, as also for verbs compounded with two prepositions, such as *διακατελέγχομαι*.

26. *ἀνὴρ* is used with substantives, as *ἁμαρτωλός* v. 8; xix. 7; and *προφήτης* xxiv. 19.

27. *Ἱερουσαλήμ* is commonly written; *Ἱερουσόλυμα*, which Mark and John alone have, being less frequent. *Ἱερουσαλήμ* is but once in Matthew, xxiii. 37.

28. *χάρις* occurs eight times in the gospel; in the Acts oftener. It is not in Matthew and Mark; and in John only three times.

29. *εὐαγγελίζομαι* often occurs. It is but once in Matthew; never in Mark or John.

30. *ὑποστρέφειν* occurs twenty-two times. In Matthew it is not found; and in Mark but once.

31. *ἐφιστάναι* is a favourite verb with the evangelist. It is not used in the other three gospels.

32. *διέρχεσθαι* is frequent in the gospel and the Acts. It occurs only twice in Matthew, Mark, and John respectively.

33. *παραχρήμα* occurs very often. It is only twice in Matthew.

34. *ἐνώπιον* is twenty-one times in the gospel; once in John, and not in Matthew or Mark.

35. Luke in general is fond of words and expressions indicative of fulness, such as *πλήρης*, *πληρώω*, *πλήθω*, *πληθύνω*, *πληροφορέω*, etc.

36. *ἔλεος* occurs only in the neuter. Matthew uses it in the masculine.

37. Luke uses *ἅπας* frequently, though it seldom appears elsewhere. It occurs but nine times in the New Testament besides.

38. Luke is partial to *καὶ αὐτός*, as he uses it twenty-eight times. In Matthew it only occurs two or three

times; in Mark four or five times. *καὶ αὐτοί* occurs thirteen times; in Mark not at all, and in Matthew but twice. *αὐτὸς ὁ* is used fourteen times by Luke, three times by Mark, and once by Matthew.

39. *καὶ οὗτος* five times. Only in Matt. xxvi. 71. Luke alone unites this pronoun with an interrogative or numeral without a connecting particle, as xvi. 2; xxiv. 26. He also puts *ὅτι* after *τοῦτο* x. 11; xii. 39, which Matthew and Mark never do. In one case *ἵνα* follows the latter, i. 43.

40. Luke is partial to the use of the infinitive with the article. Besides *διὰ τό*, which occurs much oftener than in Matthew and Mark, he has *πρό* and *μετά* with the infinitive.

41. *τίς ἄρα*, *τί ἄρα*, i. 66; viii. 25; xii. 42; xxii. 23, also in the Acts. In Mark twice, and in Matthew four times.

42. The form *δοῦναι*, with the dative of a person and accusative of a thing, is often employed, as in i. 73, etc.

43. *ιδεῖν τὸ γεγονός* ii. 15; viii. 34. Mark has *γεγονός* but once, and then in a different construction from Luke.

44. *μετὰ ταῦτα* often occurs, but is in neither Matthew nor Mark.

45. The word *στραφεῖς* eight times. Only twice in Matthew.

46. *πολλὰ ἕτερα* iii. 18; xxii. 65.

47. Peculiar combinations with *κατά*. Thus Luke alone has *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*, or *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός*, or *κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον*. *καθ' ἡμέραν* five times. *κατ' ἔτος* ii. 41. The preposition is also used with the genitive in a peculiar way to denote place: iv. 14; xxiii. 5.

48. The individualising expressions *εἰς τὰ ὦτα* i. 44; ix. 44; *ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν* iv. 21; and *εἰς τὰς ἀκοάς* vii. 1.

49. Paraphrastic expressions with *εὕρισκεν* v. 19;

xix. 48; and ἔχειν τι ποιεῖν vii. 42; ix. 58; xi. 6; xii. 17, 50; xiv. 14.

50. καὶ ὅτε and καὶ ὡς often introduce the protasis.

51. The perfect participle of ἵστημι and its compounds is never ἐστηκώς, but always ἐστώς.

52. With respect to particles, μὲν οὖν and τε mark Luke's phraseology, though the latter occurs four times in Matthew, and once in Mark; also καὶ γάρ and ἰδοὺ γάρ.

53. εἰς ἕκαστος peculiar to Luke.

54. τὰ περὶ τίνος xxii. 37; xxiv. 19, 27; only in the epistles to the Philippians and Colossians besides.

55. The interrogative τίς ἄν i. 62; vi. 11; ix. 46.

56. νομίζειν with the accusative and infinitive after it.

57. Luke often uses a plural relating to a preceding πλῆθος, as xix. 37.

58. λαλεῖν ῥῆμα i. 65; ii. 17, 50; only in Matt. xii. 36.

59. Of all the New Testament writers, Luke has oftenest the relative of attraction. There are examples in which the relative pronoun adapts its case to that of πᾶς immediately preceding: iii. 19; ix. 43; xix. 37; xxiv. 25.

60. Luke is fonder of the optative than others, in the indirect construction: i. 29, 62; iii. 15; vi. 11; ix. 46; xv. 26; xviii. 36; xxii. 23.

61. The name of the father without the article is put after θυγάτηρ i. 5; ii. 36; xiii. 16; xxiii. 28. This appears elsewhere only in citations: Matt. xxi. 5; John xii. 15; Hebr. xi. 24.

62. Combinations with ἡμέρα, especially ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων or τοῦ σαββάτου: iv. 16; xiii. 14, 16; xiv. 5.

63. πρὶν ἢ is connected with the conjunctive in ii. 26; perhaps in xxii. 34. Elsewhere it is always followed by the infinitive.

64. No other evangelist speaks of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον

as often as Luke, who has peculiar expressions along with it, such as *πλησθῆναι πνεύματος ἁγίου*.

65. Luke employs *τὸ εἰρημένον* in citations, where Matthew has *τὸ ῥηθέν* : ii. 24 ; Acts ii. 16 ; xiii. 40. So also *εἴρηται* iv. 12. *εἴρηκεν* xxii. 13. Only Matthew has *εἰρηκώς* xxvi. 75.

66. Luke has *νῦν* where Matthew has *ἄρτι*. The latter he never employs.

67. *ἀμφοτέροι* occurs six times, three times in the Acts. In Matthew three times.

68. *ἀναιρέιν* xxii. 2 ; xxiii. 32. Only once in Matthew.

69. *ἀνιστάναι*, especially the forms *ἀνέστη*, *ἀναστάς*, etc., are much commoner in Luke than in the other evangelists.

70. *ἅπας* twenty times in the gospel alone, and nearly as many in the Acts. In Matthew and Mark three times each.

71. *ἄχρι* four times. Except Matt. xxiv. 38, the other evangelists have *μέχρι*.

72. *βοᾶν* three times, and once in a quotation. The other evangelists have it only in quotations.

73. *βραχίων* except in Luke only once in John.

74. *δεῖ*. Luke uses it oftener than all the New Testament writers together, and especially with *μέ*, ii. 49, etc.

75. *δέομαι*, only in Matt. ix. 38 besides.

76. *δέχεσθαι* fifteen times. In Matthew six, and in Mark three times.

77. *διανοίγειν* ii. 23 ; xxiv. 31, 32, 45. Only in Mark vii. 34, 35 besides.

78. *διατάσσειν*, only once in Matthew besides.

79. *διό* i. 35 ; vii. 7 ; and ten times in the Acts. Only once in Matthew, not in Mark.

80. *δοξάζειν τὸν Θεόν* eight times. Twice in Matthew, and once in Mark.

81. *ἔαν* iv. 41 ; xxii. 51. In the Acts eight times. Only once in Matthew.

82. *ἔθος* three times. Once in John.

83. *εἰσάγειν*, only once in John, but frequent in Luke. Not in Matthew or Mark.

84. *εἰσφέρειν* four times, and once in the Acts. Matthew has it once.

85. *ἐλπίζειν* three times, in the Acts twice. Once in Matthew and once in John.

86. *ἐναντίον*, only in Mark besides, ii. 12, where the reading is doubtful.

87. *ἐνθάδε* xxiv. 41, and five times in the Acts. Elsewhere only in John iv. 15, 16.

88. *ἐνώπιον* twenty times. Not in Matthew or Mark ; and only once in John.

89. *ἐξαίφνης* ii. 13 ; ix. 39 ; the Acts. Only in Mark xiii. 36 besides.

90. *ἐπαίρειν* six times. Once in Matthew, four times in John.

91. *ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι* five times. Once in Matthew, and once in Mark.

92. *ἐπιπίπτειν* i. 12 ; xv. 20, eight times in the Acts. Not in Matthew. In Mark once. In John once.

93. *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* three times in the gospel, and three times in the Acts. Twice in Matthew, but in no other evangelist.

94. *ἔτος*, a favourite word. Only once in Matthew, and twice in Mark.

95. *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* ten times. Only once in Matthew.

96. *εὐλογεῖν τινα* ii. 34 ; vi. 28 ; ix. 16 ; xxiv. 50-53. Once in Matthew (?), and once in Mark.

97. *ἡγείσθαι* xxii. 26. In the Acts, four times. Only in the citation Matt. ii. 6 besides.

98. *θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τινι* four times. Once in Mark.

99. *ἰκανός* nine times. Eighteen times in the Acts. Three times each in Matthew and Mark.

100. *ἱματισμός* twice, once in the Acts. Matt. xxvii. 35?

101. *καθαίρειν* three times, and in the Acts three times. Twice in Mark.

102. *κατανοεῖν* four times. Once in Matthew.

103. *καταφιλεῖν* three times in the gospel, and once in the Acts. Once in Matthew and Mark each.

104. *κονιορτός* twice in the gospel, and twice in the Acts. Once in Matthew.

105. *κτᾶσθαι* twice, in the Acts three times. Once in Matthew.

106. *λατρεύειν* three times. Five times in the Acts. Once in Matthew in a quotation.

107. *λιμός* four times. Once in Matthew, and once in Mark.

108. *οἰκουμένη* three times. The Acts, five times; Matthew, once.

109. *ὄρθρος* once in the gospel, and once in the Acts. In John viii. 2?

110. *πέμπειν* frequent in Luke. Only once in Mark, and four times in Matthew.

111. *πλήθος*, a favourite word, especially with *πάν* τὸ before it. It occurs only in the singular. Mark iii. 7, 8.

112. *ποιεῖν τινί τι* i. 25, 49; viii. 39. *τι μετά τινος*, i. 58, 72; x. 37; the Acts. Such expressions as *ποιεῖν κράτος* i. 51; *λύτρωσιν* i. 68; *ἔλεος* i. 72; x. 37; *ἐκδίκησιν* xviii. 7, 8.

113. *προσδοκᾶν* six times. Matthew, twice.

114. *προστιθέναι* often. Twice in Matthew, and twice in Mark.

115. *συγκαλεῖν* four times. Mark, once.

116. *συλλαμβάνειν* seven times. In Matthew and Mark once each.

117. *συνέχειν* six times. Once in Matthew.

118. *τύπτειν* five times. Matthew twice. Mark once.

119. *ὑπάρχειν* seven times in the gospel, and much oftener in the Acts ; but not in the other gospels.

120. *ὑποδεικνύναι* three times in the gospel, and twice in the Acts. Matthew has it once.

121. *φυλάσσειν* six times. Once in Matthew and Mark each.

122. *χαλᾶν* twice in the gospel, three times in the Acts. Once in Mark.

123. Several Latin words are used by the evangelist : *δηνάριον* vii. 41 ; *λεγεών* viii. 30 ; *συνδάριον* xix. 20 ; *ἄσσάριον* xii. 6 ; *μόδιος* xi. 33.

124. The following are used by Luke alone among the synoptists :—

ἄβυσσος, ἀγαλλίασις, ἀγκάλη, ἄγρα, ἀγραυλεῖν, ἀγωγία, ἄδηλος, ἀηδία (?), *αἰνεῖν, αἰσθάνεσθαι, αἰσχύνεσθαι, αἰσχύνη, αἰτήμα, αἴτιον, αἰφνίδιος, αἰχμαλωτίζειν, αἰχμάλωτος, ἀκαταστασία, ἄλλογενής, ἄμemptos, ἀμπελουργός, ἀμφιάζειν* (?), *ἀνάβλεψις, ἀνάγειν, ἀνάγεσθαι* to set sail, *ἀναδεικνύναι, ἀνάδειξις, ἀναζῆν, ἀναζητεῖν, ἀνάθημα, ἀναΐδεια, ἀνακαθίζειν, ἀνακρίνειν, ἀνακύπτειν, ἀνάληψις, ἀναλίσκειν, ἀναλύειν, ἀνάμνησις, ἀναπέμπειν, ἀνάπηρος, ἀναπράσσειν* (?), *ἀναπτύσσειν* (?), *ἀνάπτειν, ἀνασπᾶν, ἀνατάσσεσθαι, ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ἀναφωνεῖν, ἀνέκλειπτος, ἀνένδεκτος, ἀνευρίσκειν, ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι, ἀνόητος, ἄνοια, ἀνορθοῦν, ἀνταποδιδόναι, ἀνταπόδομα, ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι, ἀντειπεῖν, ἀντιβάλλειν, ἀντικαλεῖν, ἀντίκεισθαι, ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, ἀντιλέγειν, ἀντιπαρέρχεσθαι, ἀντιπέραν, ἀνώτερον, ἀξιοῦν, ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀπαρτισμός, ἀπειθής, ἀπελπίζειν, ἀπογράφειν* to tax, *ἀπογραφή, ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀποθλίβειν, ἀποκάλυψις, ἀπόκεισθαι, ἀποκλείειν, ἀπολείχειν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀπολύτρωσις, ἀπομάσσειν, ἀποπλύνειν* (?), *ἀπορία, ἀποστοματίζειν, ἀποτελεῖν* (?), *ἀποτινάσσειν, ἀποψύχειν, ἄρα, ἀροτριᾶν, ἄροτρον, ἄρς, ἀρχιτελώνης, ἀστράπτειν, ἄστρον, ἀσφάλεια, ἀσώτως, ἄτεκνος, ἀτενίζειν, ἄτερ, ἄτοπος, ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον, αὐστηρός, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ*

ποιεῖν, αὐτόπτης, ἄφαντος, ἀφόβως, ἄφρος, ἄφρων, ἀφυπ-
 νοῦν, ἀχάριστος, βαθέως, βαθύνειν, βαλάντιον, βαρύνειν(?),
 τὰ βασίλεια, βάτος, βελόνη, βιωτικός, βολή, βορρᾶς, βουλή
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, βουνός, βραδύς, βραχύς, βρέχειν to moisten,
 βρέφος, βρώσιμος, βυθίζειν, βύσσος, γείτων, γελᾶν, γῆρας,
 γίνεσθαι σύν τινι, γνῶσις, γνωστός known, δακτύλιον,
 δανειστής, δαπάνη, δέησις, δειπνεῖν, δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, δεκτός,
 δεσμεῖν and τὰ δέσμα, δεσπότης in addressing God,
 δευτερόπρωτος, διαβαίνειν, διαβάλλειν, διαγγέλλειν, δια-
 γνωρίζειν, διαγογγύζειν, διαγρηγορεῖν, διαδιδόναι, διαιρεῖν,
 διακονία, διαλαλεῖν, διαλείπειν, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, διαμε-
 ρισμός, διανεύειν, διανόημα, διανυκτερεύειν, διαπορεῖν,
 διαπραγματεύεσθαι, διασεῖν, διαταράσσειν, διατηρεῖν,
 διατίθεσθαι, διαφθείρειν, διαφυλάττειν, διαχωρίζεσθαι,
 διερμηνεύειν, διήγησις, διῴσταναι, διῴσχυρίζεσθαι, δικαίωμα,
 δικαίως, δικαστής, διοδεύειν, διότι, δόγμα, δοκιμάζειν,
 δούλη, δοχή, δραχμή, δυνάστης, ἐβδομήκοντα, Ἑβραϊκός,
 ἐγκαθέτος, ἔγκυος, ἐδαφίζειν, εἰθισμένον, εἰ μὴ τί,
 ἐγκαμίσκεσθαι, ἐκδικεῖν, ἐκδιώκειν, ἐκδίκησις, ἐκζητεῖν,
 ἐκκακεῖν, ἐκκομίζειν, ἐκκρέμασθαι, ἐκλείπειν, ἐκμάσσειν,
 ἐκμυκτηρίζειν, ἐκτελεῖν, ἐκτενέστερον, ἐκφέρειν, ἐκφεύγειν,
 ἐκχωρεῖν, ἔλκος, ἐλκοῦν, Ἑλληνικός, ἐμβάλλειν, ἐμπι-
 πλάναι, ἔμφοβος, ἔναντι, ἐνδέχεσθαι, ἐνδοξος, ἐνεδρεύειν,
 ἐνεῖναι, ἐνισχύειν, ἐννύειν, ἐνοχλεῖν, ἐντιμος, ἐξαιτεῖσθαι,
 ἐξαποστέλλειν, ἐξαστράπτειν, ἐξῆς, ἔξοδος, ἐξουθενεῖν,
 ἐξουσιάζειν, ἐπαγγελία, ἐπαθροίζεσθαι, ἐπαινεῖν, ἐπαιτεῖν,
 ἐπαναπαύεσθαι, ἐπανέρχεσθαι, ἐπειδήπερ, ἐπεισέρχεσθαι,
 ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἐπέχειν, ἐπιβιβάζειν, ἐπιβλέπειν, ἐπιδεῖν, ἐπι-
 κεῖσθαι, ἐπικρίνειν, ἐπιλείχειν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς,
 ἐπιπνίγειν, ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, ἐπιρρίπτειν, ἐπισιτισμός, ἐπι-
 σκοπή, ἐπιστάτης, ἐπισχύειν, ἐπιφαίνειν, ἐπιφωνεῖν, ἐπι-
 χειρεῖν, ἐπιχέειν, ἐργασία, αἱ ἔρημοι the wilderness, ἐσθής,
 ἐσθησις(?), ἐσόμενος (εἶναι), ἐσπέρα, εὐγενής, εὐεργέτης,
 εὐθετος, εὐλαβής, εὐρίσκειν χάριν, εὐτόνως, εὐφορεῖν,
 εὐφραίνειν, ἐφημερία, ἐφιστάναι, ἔχθρα, ζευγος, ζηλωτής,
 ζωογονεῖν, ἧ γάρ, ἡγεμονεύειν, ἡγεμονία, ἡδονή, ἡμιθανής,
 ἡσυχάζειν, τὸ ἦχος, θάμβος, θεῖον, θεμέλιον, θεωρία,

θηρεύειν, θραύειν, θρόμβος, θυμίαμα, θυμιᾶν, ἱασις, ἰδρώς, ἱερατεία, ἱερατεύειν, ἱκμάς, ἱλάσκεσθαι, ἰσάγγελος, ἴσως, κάδος, καθεξῆς, καθιέναι, καθοπλίζεσθαι, καθότι, κακοῦργος, καταβαίνειν μετὰ τινος, κατάβασις, κατάγειν, καταδέειν, καταισχύνειν, κατακλείειν, κατακλίνειν, κατακολουθεῖν, κατακρημνίζειν, καταλιθάζειν, κατανεύειν, καταξιοῦν, καταργεῖν, κατασύρειν, κατασφάττειν, καταψύχειν, κατέρχεσθαι, κατευθύνειν, κατηχεῖν, κέραμος, κέρας, κεράτιον, κηρίον, κινδυνεύειν, κλάσις (τοῦ ἄρτου), κλίνει ἢ ἡμέρα, κλινίδιον, κλισία, κοίτη, κομίζειν actively, κοπρία and κόπριος, κόραξ, κόρος, κραιπάλη, κραταιοῦσθαι, κράτιστος, κράτος, κρύπτη, κτήνος, κυριεύειν, λαμπρός, λαμπρῶς, λαξευτός, λείος, λείπειν, λειτουργία, λήρος, λίμνη, λυσιτελεῖ, λυτροῦν, λύτρωσις, μακαρίζειν, μακρός, μαστός, μεγαλεία, μεγαλειότης, μέθη, μεθιστάνειν (pass.), μεθύσκεσθαι, μελίσσιος, μερίς, μεριστής, μεταδιδόναι, μετεωρίζεσθαι, μέτοχος, μήν, μήτρα, μίσθιος, μνᾶ, μόγισ, μοιχός, μόσχος, νομοδιδάσκαλος, νοσσός, νοσσιᾶ, νότος, ὀγδοήκοντα, ὄγδους, ὅδε, ὀδεύειν, ὀδυνᾶσθαι, οἰκέτης, οἰκτίρμων, οἰκονόμος, οἰκονομία, οἰκονομεῖν, ὄμβρος, ὀμιλεῖν, ὄνειδος, ὀνομάζειν, ὅποτε, ὀπτασία, ὀπτός, ὀρεινός, ὀρθρίζειν, ὀρθρινός, ὀρθριος, ὀσιότης, οὐσία, ὀφρὺς, ὀχεῖσθαι, ὀψώνιον, παγίς, παιδεύειν, ἢ παῖς, παλαιοῦν, παμπληθεῖ, πανδοχεῖον, πανδοχεύς, πανοπλία, πανουργία, παντελής, πάντως, παραβιάζεσθαι, παράδεισος, παράδοξον, παραιτεῖσθαι, παρακαθίζειν, παρακαλύπτειν, παράκλησις, παρακύπτειν, παράλιος, παραλύεσθαι, παρατήρησις, παρθενία, παροικεῖν, πατεῖν, πατριά, παύεσθαι, πεδίνος, πείθεσθαι, πενιχρός, πεντακόσιοι, πεντε-καιδέκατος, περιέχειν, περιζώννυσθαι, περικρύπτειν, περικυκλοῦν, περιλάμπειν, περιοικεῖν, περίοικος, περιπίπτειν, περισπᾶσθαι, πήγανον, πιέζειν, πινακίδιον, πλεῖν, πληγή, πλήμμυρα, πληροφορεῖν, πλουτεῖν, πλύνειν, ποιμνιον, πολίτης, πορεία, πόρρωθεν, ποτέ sometimes, ever, πραγματεύεσθαι, πράκτωρ, πρεσβεία, πρεσβυτέριον, πρεσβύτης, προβάλλειν, προδότης, προκόπτειν, προμελετᾶν, προπορεύεσθαι, προσάγειν, προσαναβαίνειν, προσαναλίσκειν, προσδαπανᾶν, προσδοκία, προσεργάζεσθαι, προσέ-

χειν ἑαυτοῖς, προσποιεῖσθαι, προσρήγνυμι, προσψαύειν, προυπάρχειν, προφέρειν, προφήτης, πτοεῖσθαι, πτύσσειν, πυκνός, ῥῆγμα, ῥῆμα plural, ῥομφαία, σάλος, σιγᾶν, σίκερα, σινιάζειν, σιτεντός, σιτομέτριον, σκάπτειν, σκιρτᾶν, σκολιός, σκοπεῖν, σκορπίος, σκῦλον, σορός, σπαργανοῦν, σπεύδειν, σπουδαίως, σπλάγχνα, στείρα, στηρίζειν, στιγμή, στρατεύεσθαι, στρατηγός, στρατιά, στρατόπεδον, συγγένεια, συγκαθίζειν, συγκαλύπτειν, συγκατατίθεσθαι, συγκλείειν, συγκύπτειν, συγκυρία, συγχαίρειν, συκάμινος, συκομορέα, συκοφαντεῖν, συλλογίζεσθαι, συμβάλλειν, συμπαραγίνεσθαι, συμπίπτειν, συμπληροῦν, συμφύεσθαι, συμφωνία, συναθροίζειν, συναντᾶν, συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι, συναρπάζειν, συνεῖναι, συνεσθίειν, συννευδοκεῖν, συνέστηκα (perf. intrans.), συνιέναι (συνεῖμι), συνοδία, συντυγχάνειν, συσπαράττειν, σωματικός, σωτήρ and σωτηρία, τὸ σωτήριον, συνοχή, τάξις, ταπείνωσις, ταχέως, τάχος, τελειοῦν, τελείωσις, τελεσφορεῖν, τετραπλοῦς, τετταρχεῖν, τοίνυν, τραῦμα, τραυματίζειν, τραχύς, τρήμα, τρυγᾶν, τρυγῶν, τρυφή, τυγχάνειν, τυρβάζεσθαι, ὑγρός, ὑδρωπικός, ὑπάρχειν (Matthew has only τὰ ὑπάρχοντα), ὑπερεκχύνεσθαι, ὑπερήφανος, ὑποδέχεσθαι, ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὑπομονή, ὑποστρωννύειν, ὑποτάσσειν, ὑποχωρεῖν, ὕψος, ὑπωπιάζειν, ὑστέρημα, φάραγξ, φάτνη, φιλάργυρος, φίλημα, φιλονεικία, φλόξ, φόβητρον, φόρος, φρόνησις, φρονίμως, φύειν, χάραξ, χαρίζεσθαι, χάριν, χάρις, χαριτοῦν, χάσμα, χιλίας, χόρος, χρᾶν, κρίειν, χρεωφείλετης, ψαλμός, ψηλαφᾶν, ψηφίζειν, ψῶχειν, ὥν.¹

Luke's diction is comparatively easy and correct. Awkward constructions such as are found in Matthew and Mark are generally avoided. Thus, instead of βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς (Mark xii. 38), Luke has φιλοῦντων before ἀσπασμούς, which takes away the harshness. Again: for ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ὑπ' ἑμᾶντὸν στρατιώτας (Matt. viii. 9) Luke has τασσόμενος after ἐξουσίαν, obviating the

¹ See Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher*, vol. ii. p. 450, et seq.

harshness and obscurity. Compare also the words of Matthew, πάντες γὰρ ὡς προφήτην ἔχουσι τὸν Ἰωάννην (xxi. 26), which are not good Greek, with those of Luke: ὁ λαὸς . . . πεπεισμένος ἐστὶν Ἰωάννην προφήτην εἶναι.

The difference of style between the gospel and the Acts is perceptible, the advantage being on the side of the latter, where we find more ease. As the preface of the gospel is written in purer Greek than the gospel itself, there is a difference between the former and latter portions of the Acts—those relating to transactions not described by a companion of Paul, and such as were taken by the evangelist from the diary of a fellow-traveller of the apostle.

THE TAXING OF QUIRINIUS IN ITS BEARING ON THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

‘And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city,’ etc. (ii. 1–3).

Here we remark :—

1. That a general census, embracing the Roman empire and commanded by Augustus, is referred to; yet no contemporary historian mentions it. Dion Cassius, Suetonius, the Ancyra monument, allude to censuses of the Roman citizens or to separate provincial valuations; but an imperial one is unknown.

2. The census of Quirinius took place about ten years after the birth of Jesus, and eleven or twelve years after Archelaus was deposed. This appears from Josephus.

Two explanations are possible: either that the census of Quirinius has been erroneously transferred to the period of Christ’s birth; or that there was a prior

one unnoticed by contemporary historians, to which Luke refers. Attempts to justify the account which the evangelist gives are not wanting. It has been supported in different ways, but all may be reduced to two, viz. an explanation on the basis of one census, or of two.

(a.) Some undertake to explain the passage by the well-known census of Quirinius (A.D. 6 or 7). Admitting that an edict was issued by Augustus in the days of Herod for a general registration of the Roman empire with a view to taxation, and assuming that it included Judea, they say that though Herod took measures for its execution, he prevented its actual accomplishment in the kingdom over which he reigned; so that it was not carried into effect till after his death, i.e. after the deposition of Archelaus and Quirinius's appointment over Syria. Accordingly, the words of Luke are translated, 'This census, a first one, was completed (took effect) when Quirinius was governor of Syria.' Stress is laid upon the two words *first* and *was*; the former being emphasised along with the pronoun *this*, and the latter denoting, *was carried into effect*. The construction is unnatural; the plain meaning being 'this first census took place when Quirinius was governor of Syria.' A slight variation of the text turns the pronoun *this* into *itself* by the change of a spirit: ¹ '*the census itself* first took effect;' or, '*the first census itself* took effect.' The immediate context which describes the progress of the census is against this manipulation. The idea of a census initiated without being completed till ten years after is in itself highly improbable. So is Herod's conjectural retarding of it.

Others translate, 'This census took place *before* Quirinius was governor of Syria,' rendering a superlative as a comparative.² That construction would require an infinitive, whereas a participle is used. It is

¹ αὐτῇ for αὐτῇ.

² πρώτη for προτέρα.

affirmed, however, that the one stands for the other; a supposition creating two peculiarities in the same sentence. The masters of Hellenistic Greek, Winer, Fritzsche, and Buttmann, pronounce the construction impossible. Alleged instances of similar usage in John i. 15, 30, xv. 18, are not analogous, because the superlative is there coupled with a noun; neither is the Septuagint example in Jeremiah xxix. 2 to the point, since it has a genitive absolute. The proposed construction is ungrammatical.

(b.) Others undertake an explanation on the basis of a twofold governorship of Syria. Can this be historically maintained? In 1764 the fragment of an inscription on a gravestone found near Tibur (Tivoli) ¹ states that the person to whom it was dedicated was proconsul of Asia and twice governor of Syria and Phœnicia.² Although the name Quirinius does not appear in it, Sanclemente, Bergmann, Nipperdey, and Mommsen refer it to him; but Zumpt believes that the person meant is Sextius Saturninus;³ and Huschke, Agrippa. The difficulty lies in finding room for Quirinius's first proconsulship of Syria before Herod's death, which took

¹ The editor of the *Speaker's Commentary* says that this stone was found *in the Tiber*!

² Mommsen gives it thus:—

. . . . gem qua redacta inpot . . .
 Augusti populi que Romani senat
 supplicationes binas ob res prosp
 ipsi ornamenta triumph
 proconsul Asiam provinciam op
 divi Augusti terum Syriam et Ph

i.e. regem qua redacta in potestatem Augusti populi que Romani senatus supplicationes binas ob res prospere gestas et ipsi ornamenta triumphalia decrevit proconsul Asiam provinciam optinuit leg. divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Phœniciam.

Should not *iterum* have come after 'Syriam et Phœniciam,' if a twofold proconsulship were meant? Strauss thinks so. See *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, p. 70, etc.; and R. Hilgenfeld's article in the *Zeitschrift* of his father for 1880, p. 104, etc.

³ See *Commentationum epigraphicarum ad antiquitates Romanas pertinentium volumen alterum*, 1854, pp. 73–150.

place in the spring of 750 A.U.C. or 4 B.C. Varus was appointed to that office in 748; was he soon displaced by Quirinius? There is no evidence that he was. Various expedients are adopted in order to find Quirinius's administration of Syria a place at the time of Christ's birth. He subdued the Homanadenses in Cilicia; and as Syria had been probably annexed to that country, he may have been proconsul of it. This is Mommsen's opinion;¹ and Zumpt agrees with it. Or he may have been governor though absent;² in other words, while Varus was still acting as proconsul, he was *the nominated* proconsul, though he had not gone abroad to enter upon his office in person. Such is Aberle's curious view.³ Some who date Quirinius's appointment in 4 B.C. bring him back in 2 B.C., when he was selected as *rector* of Caius Cæsar. Mr. Lewin does so.⁴ Thus the first proconsulship occasions many hypotheses unsupported by history. The gap in Dion Cassius from 6 B.C. till 4 A.D., to which there is a corresponding one in Josephus, can only be filled up by conjecture. We can follow Varus's proconsulship of Syria till 4 B.C.; all after is obscure. It is just in that year, however, that Zumpt makes Quirinius succeed him, but only for three years or less. This learned writer is too hasty in deriving the first proconsulship from Tacitus himself;⁵ for the historian does not say that when Quirinius was *rector* of Caius Cæsar he was also governor of Syria.

Though the double governorship could be proved, the difficulty of Quirinius's undertaking a census of Judea in his first term of office remains. Mommsen himself, who believes that Quirinius was proconsul of Syria 751, 752 A.U.C., asserts that a Roman census was

¹ *Res gestæ divi Augusti*, p. 121.

² 'Magistratus eponymus.'

³ *Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1865, p. 103, etc.

⁴ *Fasti Sacri*, p. 184.

⁵ *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 20-72.

not held twice in that country. Some apologists, conscious of the weak ground on which the first governorship rests, are content to make him carry out the census in another capacity, as *an extraordinary commissioner* deputed for the purpose. They are met, however, by the objection, that a prudent emperor like Augustus would not have offered such indignity to Herod.

Weitzsäcker supposes that Luke may have known of Quirinius's first proconsulship and transferred the census to it without the suspicion of a mistake. Perhaps the adjective *first* lends some countenance to this improbable hypothesis.¹

On the whole question we observe :—

1. A census of the Roman empire instituted by Augustus is unhistorical. He issued an edict to that effect three times during his reign ; but it was limited to Roman citizens and was a *census populi*.

2. A Roman census at the birth of Jesus must have been held when Herod was King of Judea. In countries not yet reduced to the form of Roman provinces but governed by *reges socii*, the latter superintended a census. It would have been an insult to issue such an edict, independently of their active concurrence. It has been conjectured, indeed, that Augustus may have done so when he was displeased with Herod ; and Josephus is appealed to for expressions which the emperor used in a letter addressed to him B.C. 7 ;² but these utterances of temporary anger did not affect the rank of Herod. The emperor being soon reconciled to him, he continued to be a *rex socius*, without losing that position. To account for the issuing of the decree or its enforcement, by the displeasure of Augustus with Herod, is purely conjectural.

3. A census of the Roman empire before Judea was converted into a proper Roman province, which was in

¹ See Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. v. p. 27.

² *Antiqq.* xvi. 9. 3.

759 A.U.C., must have been conducted according to Roman usage, which did not require the parents of Jesus to travel from Nazareth in Galilee to Bethlehem in Judea. Least of all was the personal appearance of females necessary. A Roman census was regulated by the place of abode. But Joseph did not live at Bethlehem, according to Luke. It has been said that the census was a Jewish one, and conducted in Jewish fashion, and therefore Joseph went to the place whence his family had sprung. Still this did not require Mary's presence. Should it be said that she was an heiress and had to appear on that account, all the evidence we have attests her poverty.

4. The supposed census-taking by Quirinius at the birth of Christ in any capacity but that of real governor of Syria, as *legate of Cæsar* or *extraordinary commissioner*, does not consist with the plain language of the sacred writer. And that he was twice governor of the country cannot be shown.

5. In Acts v. 37, Luke speaks of the taxing of Quirinius. He knew the one transaction; his cognisance of an earlier was vague; or rather, he followed a confused tradition which threw back Quirinius's later government and taxing of Syria to an earlier time, as though something of the same nature had been done in that region before.

6. Notwithstanding the great amount of learning brought to bear upon the subject by Wieseler, Zumpt, Aberle, Köhler and others, all intent on warding off the charge of misstatement from the evangelist, it is impossible for a simple reader to avoid believing that Luke puts the census of Quirinius about ten years too early. This is not the only mistake in the writings of the same author. Explanations of the passage on the assumption of its agreement with the census of Quirinius, A.D. 6 or 7, are forced or ungrammatical; and that which adopts an earlier proconsulship with a con-

temporaneous census requires more historical confirmation than has been produced. It is possible that while Luke speaks of the later one in Acts v. 37, he records the earlier one in the gospel; but this is not probable. Why was the former followed by no resistance on the part of the Jews, as the latter was? Did they tamely submit to it? To put it in the time of Herod is all but impossible.

INTEGRITY.

The opinion was once entertained that the first two chapters, with the exception of the preface, were not written by the evangelist. The only argument worth mentioning which was adduced against them is their absence from Marcion's gospel. But as the same document wanted the 3rd chapter and part of the 4th, the argument proves too much. Marcion's gospel was an altered copy of Luke's, as is shown by the fact that chapter iv. 31 follows iii. 1.

QUOTATIONS.

These are :—

i. 17 . . .	Mal. iv. 6.	x. 27 . . .	Dent. vi. 5; Levit. xix. 18.
ii. 23 . . .	Exod. xiii. 2.	xiii. 35 . . .	Psalm cxviii. 26.
ii. 24 . . .	Levit. xii. 8.	xviii. 20 . . .	Exod. xx. 13-15.
iii. 4-6 . . .	Isai. xl. 3-5.	xix. 46 . . .	Isai. lvi. 7.
iv. 4 . . .	Dent. viii. 3.	xx. 17 . . .	Psalm cxviii. 22.
iv. 8 . . .	Dent. vi. 13.	xx. 28 . . .	Dent. xxv. 5.
iv. 10, 11 . . .	Psalm xc. 11, 12.	xx. 37 . . .	Exod. iii. 6.
iv. 12 . . .	Dent. vi. 16.	xx. 42, 43 . . .	Psalm cx. 1.
iv. 18, 19 . . .	Isai. lxi. 1, 2.	xxii. 37 . . .	Isai. liii. 12.
vii. 27 . . .	Mal. iii. 1.	xxiii. 30 . . .	Hosea x. 8.
viii. 10 . . .	Isai. vi. 9, 10.	xxiii. 46 . . .	Psalm xxi. 5.

The citations are few compared with those of Matthew, for which the character of the gospel sufficiently accounts. Almost all occur in the sayings of Christ and others; nor is any made to prove the fulfilment of prophecy, which would have been useless for

Gentile readers. All are from the Septuagint, with one exception, viz. vii. 27, where Ritschl rightly perceives dependence of Luke on Matthew who has the citation in the same form. Holtzmann explains it by assuming a difference of sources, as if Luke departed from his usual method in this instance, and followed another document.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

NOTICES OF THE PERSON TO WHOM IT IS ATTRIBUTED.

It is probable that the Mark to whom the second gospel is commonly assigned, is the same who is called John (Acts xiii. 5, 13) and John Mark (Acts xii. 12, 25 ; xv. 37). If so, he was a native of Jerusalem, the son of Mary, and a friend of the Christians there. In the epistle to the Colossians he is styled the cousin of Barnabas ; with which the tradition that he was of the tribe of Levi and the priestly line accords. He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, leaving them at Perga in Pamphylia, and returning to Jerusalem. When Paul was on his second missionary tour, Mark accompanied Barnabas to Cyprus. Though the Apostle of the Gentiles had been dissatisfied with his conduct, and refused to have him for an associate on his second journey, they were afterwards reconciled ; if the statement in 2 Timothy iv. 11, where it is said that he is profitable to Paul, can be relied upon. Hence he is styled the *fellow-worker* of the Apostle to the Gentiles (Coloss. iv. 11). Nothing certain is known of the remainder of his life, as the traditional accounts of early ecclesiastical writers are uncertain. Eusebius says he was with the apostle Peter in Rome, and that after Peter's death, he founded the church of Alexandria, of which Jerome makes him the first bishop. He is said to have suffered martyrdom there.

If the Mark mentioned in 1 Peter v. 13 be identical

with John Mark, we have an intimation of the friendship existing between him and the apostle Peter. In that case, he was converted by the latter, and was with him in Rome when the first epistle is said to have been written. But some, with Bengel, take *son* in the passage literally, and the epithet *co-elect*¹ as denoting Peter's wife. It is more probable, however, that *son* means *spiritual son*; though we must allow that the usual term for *convert* in Paul's writings is not employed;² and that *co-elect* refers to the church at Rome rather than Peter's wife. No example of a salutation from the writer's wife occurs in any epistle; salutations are sent from churches.

At what time Mark attached himself permanently to Peter cannot be ascertained. It was after Paul's second missionary journey. The New Testament furnishes little information on the point. The connection between them is scarcely intimated in the Acts, although it would not have been out of place there. But tradition often alludes to their association, furnishing distinct notices of companionship between them.

The tradition respecting Mark's connection with Peter is embodied in the following passages.

Papias, or John the presbyter according to the relation of Papias, says: 'The presbyter John said: Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote exactly whatever he remembered; but he did not write in order the things which were spoken or done by Christ. For he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the Lord; but afterwards, as I said, followed Peter, who made his discourses suit what was required, without the view of giving a connected digest of the discourses of our Lord. Mark therefore committed no mistake when he wrote down circumstances as he recollected them. For he was very careful of one thing, to omit nothing of what

¹ συνεκλεκτή.

² τέκνον, not υἱός as here.

he heard, and to say nothing false in what he related. Thus Papias writes of Mark.¹

Irenæus says : ‘ Matthew wrote a gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding a church there. And after their decease, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter.’²

Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, states : ‘ In the same books Clement has given a tradition concerning the order of the gospels which he had received from presbyters of old, and which is to this effect : he says that the gospels containing the genealogies were written first ; that the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark was this : Peter having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken the gospel by the Spirit, many present exhorted Mark to write the things which had been spoken, since he had long accompanied Peter, and remembered what he had said ; and that when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him. Which, when Peter knew, he neither forbad nor encouraged it.’³

¹ ὁ πρεσβύτερος [Ἰωάννης] ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ’ οὐχ’ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων [λογίων]· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔστα γράψας ὡς ἀμνημονεύσειν, ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστορεῖται τῷ Παπῇ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου.—Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39.

² Ματθαῖος . . . γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε.—*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 1.

³ αὐτὸς δ’ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς [ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσι] ὁ Κλήμης βιβλίῳ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθειται, τοῦτον ἔχουσιν τὸν τρόπον. προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγε τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας. τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐσχικέαι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξιπύοντος, τοὺς παρόντας πολλοὺς ὄντας παρακαλῆσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα, ποιήσαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μεταδοῦναι τοῖς θεομένοις αὐτοῦ. ὅπερ ἐπιγνόντα τὸν Πέτρον, προτρεπτικῶς μήτε κωλύσαι μήτε προτρέψασθαι.—*H. E.* vi. 14.

Tertullian affirms that ‘the gospel published by Mark may be called Peter’s, whose interpreter Mark was ;’¹ and Origen states that ‘Mark wrote it as Peter directed him.’²

Eusebius speaks at length respecting the origin of the gospel, saying that Peter’s hearers prevailed upon Mark, *Peter’s follower*, to write down the oral teachings, and that the apostle authorised it to be read in the churches. This account is derived from Clement and Papias, with something of the historian’s own.³

In another work, Eusebius attributes the fact of Peter’s not writing a gospel to excessive modesty.⁴

Jerome’s testimony is similar to the preceding. He calls Mark the *disciple* and *interpreter* of Peter, says that he wrote a short gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, and that Peter himself both sanctioned it and authorised its use in the churches. Elsewhere, Jerome, calling Mark Peter’s interpreter as before, says that the one dictated and the other wrote.⁵ Tertullian and Eusebius related the report as not certain; while Augustine disbelieved it in saying ‘Mark follows Matthew, as his abridger.’

The varieties of the tradition are noteworthy, some making Mark write during Peter’s lifetime, others after his death; some saying that Peter approved and authorised the gospel, others that he neither forbade nor encouraged it. The most probable account is that given by Irenæus. This, however, did not suffice; so that it came to be asserted afterwards that the work was carried out under an apostle’s sanction and that he approved of it when done. Apostolic authority must needs be got for an evangelist’s document. Where this is absent,

¹ ‘Licet et Marcus quod edidit evangelium, Petri affirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus,’ etc.—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

² ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ.—*Ap. Euseb. H. E.* vi. 25.

³ *H. E.* ii. 15.

⁴ *Demonstr. Evang.* iii. 5.

⁵ *De Viris Illustr.* c. 8.

it is found desirable to say that Mark made no mistake in his recollections, as Papias or John the presbyter asserts. The evangelist must be made a correct reporter of an apostle's narratives.

The course of the tradition is easily traced. The gospel was first attached to Peter. Mark wrote it after Peter's death, according to Irenæus. But the credibility of the work was still uncertain; and therefore it was said to be written during the lifetime of Peter, who even read and sanctioned it. Eusebius adds to preceding assumptions some of his own; and the gospel at last becomes Peter's in reality as well as name. Tertullian was the first who called it Peter's, without asserting that the apostle read and sanctioned it; Eusebius makes it his emphatically by stating that he authorised it to be read in the churches; and Jerome, improving upon the historian, affirms that Mark wrote down what Peter dictated.

The attestation of the gospel by Peter, or its genuine reproduction of the apostle's preachings, cannot be accepted without limitation, for a comparison with Matthew and Luke does not always show derivation from an eyewitness, but the use of other sources. Thus the double account of the multitude's miraculous feeding (4,000 and 5,000) is not resolved into the single one out of which it arose, and a series of occurrences is grouped around it. Such repetitions as are seen in vi. 14, etc., and viii. 28, detract from the originality of the gospel. So too vi. 47-51, which is a second edition of iv. 37-41. It is easy to say with Weiss that one is taken from a written source and the other from tradition; but did not misapprehension on the part of the evangelist create such duplicates? Nor are the words of Jesus always reported correctly, as is shown by the twofold statement about rich men entering into the kingdom of God in x. 23, 24, by the unoriginal declaration in x. 12, and by the modified directions to the

twelve about to set out on their mission, where only a staff and sandals are mentioned (x. 9, 10). To this may be added the form of the question put by the Pharisees in x. 2. In some instances the statements seem to have passed through the mind of a Paulinist, not only because of their form, but their matter (comp. x. 2-8, xv. 38 with 2 Cor. iii. 7-11, 18). Peter's influence upon the gospel can only have been indirect; it has not impressed it with the uniform character of originality. The narratives savour of a later time; they have legendary and ideal elements of post-apostolic growth. This is tacitly admitted by those advocates of the primitive nature of the gospel who represent Mark as rewriting it after a time; or by such as assume that a later hand worked it over.

Thus Weiss allows that Mark's reminiscences were not uniformly correct. But he accepts the tradition of the evangelist's connection with the apostle as genuine, notwithstanding its early varieties. There is room for the idea that it originated in the desire to procure apostolicity for the work of one who did not belong to the twelve.

As if Peter's reminiscences were insufficient for the composition of the present gospel, Weiss and others give Mark the assistance of Matthew's logia. It is curious, however, to note that the most important part of these logia is omitted by the evangelist. The discourses of Jesus are but scantily reported in a gospel which is occupied with his acts rather than his teachings. Had the logia been used, the gospel would have had more of the latter. It may be conceded that Mark did write down certain reminiscences of Peter; not that the present gospel is the authentic one which he composed out of them. The Petrine document was probably used by the author of our gospel.

What meaning did the ancient fathers attach to the word *interpreter*? Is it that Mark put Peter's Aramæan

discourses into Greek? or is it nearly equivalent to *secretary*, as if Mark developed and put into style the oral communications of Peter? The former, which agrees with Jerome's opinion, is the more probable.

The certainty of Papias's statement, though generally assumed by the early fathers and modern scholars, is not established. Mark's intercourse with Peter, especially at Rome, may have been deduced entirely from 1 Peter v. 13. The evangelist was at Rome with Paul, not with Peter. Where did the latter communicate his reminiscences to the former? If Mark wrote them down in Rome, we must assume a prior meeting between them at another place. Can it be that Papias's account is bound up with the alleged presence of Peter in Rome, after the latter had followed and defeated Simon Magus, according to the Petrine legend?

That the account which Papias gives of Mark's connection with Peter in regard to the origin of the second gospel is liable to strong suspicion may be inferred from its rejection by the cautious Griesbach. The tradition is also weakened by the fact that Mark makes Jesus give Simon the surname of Peter when the twelve apostles were chosen (iii. 16), which is not only improbable but contrary to John i. 42, where he was so named when first called to be a disciple.

RELATION OF MARK TO THE SECOND GOSPEL.

The statement of John the presbyter, as preserved by Papias and recorded in Eusebius's history, is to the effect that Mark did not write *in order*¹ the things spoken or done by Christ. The obvious meaning of the expression is *arrangement* generally, whether chronological succession or concatenation and grouping. The opposite of *not in order* is *arrangement*.² The statement is not applicable to the present gospel, which has

¹ τάξει.

² σύνταξις.

the same arrangement in substance as Matthew's or Luke's. Even when the order in Matthew is arbitrary, as at chapter xiv. 12, Mark has the same (vi. 14). And that the expression *not in order* implies comparison with the *logia* of Matthew is improbable. Why should Papias or John the presbyter compare it with the *logia* when Matthew's present Greek gospel was in existence? The *logia*-document is no doubt selected for the comparison because the Greek gospel of Matthew has usually the same order as Mark's, especially after the 14th chapter. No attempt to show the adaptation of Papias's statement about what Mark wrote to the character of the canonical Greek gospel has been successful. *Not in order* means more than *writing some things*, a phrase which stands in the subsequent context, more than isolated facts. What reason could there have been for saying that Mark wrote only *some parts* of the evangelical history or an incomplete gospel so far? It is impossible to refer the expression *not in order* to isolated facts, anecdotes, adversaria, materials loosely linked together; for the matter of the gospel is digested like that of Matthew or Luke. Nor is Meyer's ingenious assumption¹ of a twofold writing being indicated in the fragment of Papias tenable,—the one, immediately after Mark heard the discourses of Peter, which was *not in order*; the other, the writing of the gospel proper, a part of which only² is excused and justified as not exhibiting arrangement.³ This was not thought of by Papias or John the presbyter. Kenrick also conjectures that Mark wrote the materials of his gospel twice; but prudently abstains from any attempt to find evidence of it in Papias's words.⁴

A careful examination of Papias's testimony shows that it does not relate to our present gospel. All we learn from it is, that Mark wrote notes of a gospel

¹ *Evangelium des Matthæus*, Einleit. pp. 31, 32.

² ἐνια γράψας.

³ τὰς.

⁴ *Biblical Essays*, p. 66.

which was not our canonical one. To escape from this conclusion, it may be said that John the presbyter was not infallible, and we are at liberty to differ from his opinion. So with Papias. The judgments of both may be wrong. In the present instance it may be asserted that the presbyter was mistaken in supposing that Mark did not write *in order*. But the statement is not so much a matter of opinion as of fact; for everyone sees that Mark *did* write *an arranged work*. The difficulty of reconciling the testimony of the presbyter with the condition of the present gospel is palpable; and the witness derives importance from his statement being the oldest. If he means a prior document written by Mark, his testimony is intelligible, and the conclusion it leads to is that a later writer composed the canonical gospel. How then did it come to be attributed to one that did not write it? If there was an authentic document of Mark succeeded by our gospel, how did the latter come into the place of the former without the slightest historical notice of the mutual relation between the two? The writings of the fathers usually quoted respecting the origin of the gospels speak of one and the same work; and if the document of which Papias speaks were not our present gospel, how could this older writing have passed at once into oblivion, and the present gospel, coming in its stead, be reckoned the work of Mark? It is difficult to answer these questions. It does not seem likely that John the presbyter spoke of a proper gospel, but rather a work in the same style with the Clementine Homilies,¹ in which Mark wrote down sayings, narratives, and teachings of the apostle Peter. But Papias and the succeeding fathers already knew the present gospel, of which they speak as though it were Mark's Petrine document. Before their day, during the process of gospel literature, another had displaced the fragmentary document written by Mark

¹ Ἀ κήρυγμα Πέτρου.

himself; and to it they carried over the origin assigned to the latter. The transference seems to have been effected without the opposition which it would have elicited in a critical age. It must be admitted that there is no historical trace of such substitution; and that the fathers speak only of our present gospel. It may be observed, however, that Irenæus, though well acquainted with the four gospels, does not call the second a *gospel*, but *what was preached by Peter*; ¹ as if the one work had been substituted for the other imperceptibly, and therefore it were fitting to speak of the one in terms properly applicable to the other. The fathers, being uncritical and credulous, would not scruple to accept a later gospel as Mark's, especially as the tradition of its connection with Peter facilitated the substitution. Their testimony would have passed unchallenged, had we not the account of John the presbyter and internal evidence leading to a more correct conclusion. The original composition of Mark should be carefully distinguished from a proper gospel, or even a document representing faithfully and fully the teachings of Peter. It was an unconnected production written after the death of the apostle from recollections which must sometimes have been vague or erroneous. Perhaps we have a glimpse of this *primitive Mark* in Justin's allusion to a passage found in Mark only, which was in *his* (that is, Peter's) memorabilia. ² After the gospels of Matthew and Luke appeared, we can suppose the facility with which the canonical Mark would supplant unconnected, anecdotal notes, which might pass into the category of apocryphal writings, and did so if they were identical with *the gospel of Peter*. Whatever indications of connection with Peter the gospel may furnish—and we are not disposed to deny them—they arose out of the use which the canonical Mark made of the primitive document. The present work took over Mark's early production.

¹ τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα.

² See *Dial. c. Tryph.* cap. 106, p. 380 ed. Otto.

These observations disagree with the opinion of Weisse and Holtzmann, who suppose that the present gospel consists of Peter's fragmentary reminiscences supplemented by oral tradition and other material. In like manner we dissent from Pfleiderer, who, rejecting the tradition that connects Mark with Peter, makes the evangelist a Paulinist at Rome, having his eyes opened and his mind 'trained in the school of the apostle Paul to see what was new in principle in the mission and teaching of Jesus.'¹ This hypothesis virtually annuls the earliest testimony for Mark being a writer at all; since it thrusts Peter aside, and puts Paul's teaching in place of Petrine memoranda. Doubtless the redactor or proper author of the gospel was acquainted with Paulinism as well as Petrinism, and inclined to the former; but he was neither Mark himself, nor did he live in Mark's time. Had the substance of the gospel been drawn from Peter's recollections, its character had been Petrine; and the assumption of Mark's training under Paul at Rome, though not inconsistent with the nature of the work, is a poor substitute for the original tradition. Petrinism and Paulinism have both been kept in the background by the writer, who lived long after Mark himself.

That Mark was not the writer of the canonical gospel may be inferred from the fact that it is not specially remarkable in particulars relative to Peter. Although the apostle was one of the two sent to prepare for the paschal supper, Mark does not give his name. The intensity of his repentance, expressed by *bitterly* in Matthew and Luke, is omitted. Nor is the honourable name *Peter* employed till it was bestowed on him by Jesus. Some account for these omissions by the modesty of Peter, who did not wish to introduce circumstances to exalt himself. This might be more probable if it could be shown that Mark wrote when

¹ *Hibbert Lecture on the Influence of the Apostle Paul, etc.*, English trans., pp. 172, 173.

Peter was alive and with his sanction. But Irenæus says that Peter was dead at the time; and his statement is more credible than that of Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. If this were so, it sets aside the alleged modesty of Peter as a reason for omissions respecting his personal history. But while no *special* prominence is given to Peter, there are evidences of some partiality towards him. His walking on the sea of Galilee is omitted as giving rise to Jesus's reproof of his faith (Matthew xiv. 28-31; comp. Mark vi. 47-52). The asking for an explanation of a parable which draws down upon the disciples a reproof of their dull perception, is attributed by Mark to the disciples generally (vii. 17); whereas in Matthew, Peter is the sole interrogator. Peter's words on the mount of transfiguration are excused by his fear (ix. 6). Mark prefers Luke's words to those of Matthew in xix. 27, omitting the worldly question about reward, 'What shall we have therefore,' which is in Matthew. Though the instances of a predilection for Peter are few, they may indicate some influence of Petrine tradition upon the writer's mind, without supporting the hypothesis that Mark was the apostle's *interpreter* or *secretary*.

If our observations be correct, the canonical gospel could not have been the production which Mark wrote from reminiscences of Peter's oral teachings and narratives. The author is unknown, and external evidence on the subject is unsatisfactory, not proving Mark's authorship of our gospel. Internal evidence yields more satisfaction.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The gospel may be divided into three parts.

1. Transactions preparatory to the public ministry of Jesus (i. 1-13).
2. His ministry in Galilee (i. 14-x.).
3. His last journey to Jerusalem, with the events that transpired in the city (xi.-xvi.).

1. The first two verses are followed by the appearance and ministry of John the Baptist, with the baptism and temptation of Jesus. Here the evangelist follows Matthew and Luke, the former more than the latter.

2. This section begins with Christ's appearance in Galilee and the calling of four apostles. The healing of a demoniac in Capernaum, of Peter's wife's mother, of a leper, and palsied person, the call of Levi, the banquet at his house and the conversation with the Scribes and Pharisees arising out of it, the plucking of the ears of corn by his disciples on the sabbath-day, and the cure of the man with the withered hand, all come in immediate succession. Verses 1, 14-20, follow Matthew. At i. 21 the evangelist passes at once from Matthew to Luke, because he omits the sermon on the mount. But though he leaves Matthew's order for that of Luke, he does not abandon his mode of narration, but follows both it and Luke's in varying proportions. The event described in Luke v. 1-11 is omitted because of Mark i. 16-20.

In iii. 7-35, Mark relates how the multitudes followed Jesus, His choice of twelve apostles, the blasphemy of the Pharisees that He was in league with Beelzebub, His reply, and the visit of His mother and brethren. At the commencement of this section, Mark leaves Luke and returns to Matthew at the place where he had left him before—viz. Matt. xii. 15. Verses 7-12 are an enlargement of Matt. xii. 15, 16. But the choosing of the twelve follows Luke vi. 12-16; after which the writer returns to Matthew, passing over the long discourses in Matt. xii. 33-45.

Chapter iv. 1-34. A series of parables is introduced: the sower, the seed growing secretly, and the mustard-seed. The first is parallel with Matt. xiii. 3-23. Verses 21-25 are taken from Luke viii. 16-18, but verses 26-29 are peculiar to the evangelist. The words in the twenty-fourth verse taken from Matthew

vii. 2, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you,' interrupt the connection. The parable of the mustard-seed (30-32) is from Matthew, not without reference to Luke, as the thirtieth verse compared with Luke xii. shows. The thirty-fourth verse is from Matthew.

In iv. 35-v. 43 are related the stilling of the storm on the sea of Galilee, the healing of the demoniac in the country of the Gadarenes, Jesus's return to the other side of the lake, the cure of Jairus's daughter, and of the woman having an issue of blood. Here the evangelist follows Luke viii. 22-56. He differs from Matthew in describing only one possessed with a devil, and calling him a Gadarene; whereas the first evangelist has two demoniacs, who were *Gergesenes* not Gadarenes. The name Jairus is also absent from the first gospel.

In vi. 1-6, it is related how Jesus teaches in Nazareth and is contemned by his countrymen. Here the evangelist returns to Matthew, to the passage where the parables ended in the latter, Matt. xiii. 53-58.

The section, vi. 7-44, describes how the twelve were sent forth on their mission, Herod's opinion of Jesus, the execution of John the Baptist, the disciples' return, and the miraculous feeding of the multitude. Luke is followed more than Matthew; though the latter is not unregarded, especially in verses 32 and 34.

The section, vi. 45-viii. 21, contains an account of Jesus walking on the sea, the discourse relative to the washing of hands, the journey into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon where the daughter of a Canaanite woman is healed, the cure of a person deaf and dumb, another miraculous feeding of multitudes, the demand of the Pharisees for a sign, and a warning against the leaven of the Pharisees. All this is parallel with Matt. xiv. 22-xvi. 12. But the paragraph vii. 32-37 is peculiar to Mark, having been suggested apparently by Matt.

xv. 30, where the general statement occurs: 'And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus's feet, and he healed them.' As Matthew did not describe any individual case of a deaf man being healed, Mark selected one. But this one example of healing does not agree well with the statement in viii. 2: 'they have now been with me three days,' which is appropriate in Matthew and carelessly retained by Mark. He omits Matthew's words (xvi. 2, 3) at viii. 10-13, and xvi. 11, 12, at viii. 21.

The healing of a blind man at Bethsaida (viii. 22-26) is peculiar to Mark.

The section viii. 27-ix. 50 relates Peter's confession, the transfiguration, the cure of a lunatic, the announcement by Jesus of His suffering, and the dispute among the disciples respecting precedence. It is parallel with both synoptists, Matt. xvi. 15-xviii. 9 and Luke ix. 18-51, but has more agreement with the former. Sometimes the evangelist has from Matthew particulars wanting in Luke, as viii. 32, 33; ix. 9; ix. 42-47. On the other hand, he has particulars from Luke which are not in Matthew, as viii. 38; ix. 38-41. With Luke he omits what Matthew has in xvi. 17-19, 27; xvii. 6, 7, 13, 20, 24-27; and again, with Matthew, he omits what Luke has in ix. 31-33.

The paragraph x. 1-12 treats of divorce, arising out of a question by the Pharisees. The question put to Jesus omits the clause in Matthew 'for every cause'; and part of his answer 'and if a woman shall put away her husband and be married to another, she committeth adultery' is added. In neither case is Mark original; and in the second, he confounds Jewish law which did not permit divorce by the wife with the Greek and Roman law which allowed it.¹ Chap. x. 13-16, in

¹ See Rothe's *Theologische Ethik*, fünfter Band, zweite Auflage, p. 28, etc.

which Jesus blesses little children, is from Matthew and Luke ; as is also x. 17-31, where He answers the rich young man. The passage in which Jesus foretells His death, x. 32-34, is also from both. The request of Zebedee's sons, x. 35-45, is from Matthew xx. 20-27 ; and the cure of the blind man near Jericho, x. 46-52, from Matthew and Luke. The principal source of the whole chapter is apparently Matthew, with the occasional use of Luke. It is worthy of remark that Mark follows Luke in recording the cure of only one blind man at Jericho ; not two, as Matthew states. But he agrees with Matthew that the cure took place as he went out of Jericho, whereas Luke says it was as he entered it.

3. The 11th chapter describes Jesus's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the cursing of the fig-tree, the expulsion of traders from the temple, and a conversation with the Sanhedrists. Here both Matthew and Luke are freely used, except in relation to the withered fig-tree, which is not in the latter evangelist. Mark differs from Matthew in dividing the particulars respecting the fig-tree, and in placing the expulsion of the traders in a different position. Matthew relates that Jesus went into the temple on the evening of the day he entered Jerusalem, and expelled the traders thence ; afterwards going to Bethany to pass the night there. As he returned the next morning he cursed the fig tree, which instantly withered. But Mark makes Jesus go into the temple in the evening of the day he arrived in the city, and go out to Bethany the same evening. The next morning as he returned he cursed the fig-tree, went into the temple and expelled the traders. On the evening of that day he retired again from the city, into which as He was going the next morning, Peter directed attention to the withered state of the fig-tree. The addition which this gospel makes to the incident of the fig-tree, viz. that ' the time of figs was not yet,' increases

our belief in the unhistorical character of the incident. The incident may have had its origin in the parable which Luke gives on another occasion (xiii. 6); and if this be so, Mark's gospel was not the earliest, because his dramatic transformation could not have preceded the parable itself. But the miraculous shape may have been traditional in Matthew, from whom the author of Mark's gospel took it.

The 12th and 13th chapters are occupied with parables and discourses, contrary to the manner of the evangelist. The parable of the vineyard, Jesus's answer to the entangling question of the Pharisees and Herodians about paying tribute, His refutation of the Sadducees respecting marriage in the resurrection-period, His explanation of the highest precepts of the law, His inquiry put to the scribes respecting Christ being the son of David, His reproof of the vain-glory of the scribes and Pharisees, the account of the widow's mite, together with the eschatological discourse in the 13th chapter, show more or less parallelism with Matthew and Luke. Thus, xii. 1-12 is taken from Matthew xxi. 33-46, and Luke xx. 9-19, but is not so original; xii. 13-27 follows the two synoptists also. But xii. 28-34 is after Matthew, and not closely; xii. 35-37 follows both evangelists; 38-40 is from Luke alone, as is also 41-44. The writer transferred the last clause of Matthew xxii. 46 to the end of xii. 34, where it is improperly placed.¹ The 13th chapter is much more from Luke xxi. 5-36; though it is occasionally filled out with notices from Matt. xxiv. In the 11th verse the phrase *but the Holy Ghost*, following Luke xii. 12, is less original than the parallel in Matthew, '*but the spirit of your Father*,' etc., etc.

The 14th chapter commences with the statement

¹ Mr. Kenrick's supposition that the clause in Mark refers to the whole series of questions beginning with that of the Herodians (xii. 14) is unnatural.—*Biblical Essays*, p. 29.

that the chief priests and scribes conspired against Jesus. To this it is subjoined that He was anointed by a woman at Bethany, and betrayed by Judas (1-11). Here Matthew is chiefly followed. This is succeeded by the preparation for the last supper (12-16), where Matthew and Luke are combined. The supper itself is described (17-25) more correctly than it is in Matthew or Luke, and is followed by the departure for the Mount of Olives (26-28), the prediction of Peter's denial (29-31), Jesus's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (32-42), His betrayal and apprehension (43-52), His accusation before the high-priest (53-65), and Peter's denial (66-72). Here Matthew is the source.

The 15th chapter relates how Jesus was brought before Pilate, whose desire was to liberate Him, His condemnation and shameful treatment, and His being led away to Golgotha (1-23), taken from Matthew. Mark omits the dream of Pilate's wife, and the act of washing his hands in public. The crucifixion (24-37) is from the first evangelist. Like Matthew, he states that both the malefactors who were crucified with Jesus reviled Him. The occurrences which happened at the time of His decease (38-40), the account of the women that stood to look on (40, 41), with that of the entombment (42-47), are chiefly, but not exclusively, from the same evangelist, for xv. 42 has relation to Luke also.

The 16th chapter, containing a record of the resurrection, is from Matthew and Luke, the former being followed up to the ninth verse, and the latter being abridged from that verse onward.

The analysis just given embodies the fact that the gospel is later than those of Matthew and Luke; a view not accepted by many eminent critics, who do not, however, believe that the primitive Mark of which Papias speaks was identical with the present gospel; for they assume interpolations in the alleged proto-Mark during its process of becoming canonical. Here there is ample

room for the display of subjectivity. Among the sources found for such additions is the logia-document, which Weiss uses largely in preference to Matthew's gospel. It is as probable, however, that the two canonical gospels were the main source, as that the logia was an auxiliary one. All allow that Mark's recollections do not always reproduce the Petrine statements *faithfully*, but that they have been modified, supplemented and confused by other and less original materials. Besides the logia, another source has been assumed for Mark, viz. a common Greek tradition, from which he and Matthew both draw. This conjecture is useful to such as hold Mark's gospel to be the earliest because it does away with all evidence of Matthew's priority where the general agreement of the two gospels shows the use of one by the other. The proceeding is well exemplified by Mark xiii. 10 compared with Matthew x. 18. Not perceiving that 'all the nations' is in Mark's manner instead of Matthew's 'the nations,' and taken from the latter, a common Greek tradition is assumed as the source of both. It is best to take the gospels as they are, without summoning an ideal, or at least an unknown tradition.¹ One thing is clear, that the present Mark is not an exact copy of that to which Papias alludes. How far it differs from the prototype can only be a subject of conjecture.

The proto-Mark rests upon an early tradition, and if the canonical evangelist used a Petrine document, written by Mark himself, great care is needed in finding its constituent parts. That the canonical Mark preceded

¹ Reuss reduces what appears now of the original Mark to chapters i. 21-vi. 48, viii. 27-xiii. 27. Wilke, B. Bauer, Volkmar, and Hitzig find numerous interpolations from it; while many parts of the other gospels are transferred to the primitive Mark by Weisse, Tobler, Holtzmann, Wittichen, Schenkel, and Mangold. We do not believe that the primitive Mark can be so successfully separated from the present gospel as Jacobsen thinks. The same may be said of the process which Weiss applies to the alleged logia-constituents contained in the latter.

the other synoptics appears contrary to internal evidence, notwithstanding Volkmar's elaborate attempt to carry out this radical hypothesis. Even he is obliged to assume interpolations which change its primitive state to some extent.

Two plausible hypotheses present themselves, viz. Mark's dependence on Matthew, or on Matthew and Luke together.

If Mark's independence of Matthew and Luke be asserted, it becomes necessary to set forth arguments that prove the contrary. We proceed to consider the subject more closely.

RELATION OF MARK TO MATTHEW AND LUKE.

At an early period Augustine thought that Mark was 'the attendant, as it were, and abbreviator'¹ of Matthew, an opinion which cannot be defended without modification. More probable is the view which Griesbach was the first to recommend, that the gospel was taken from those of Matthew and Luke, mostly by abridgment, partly by combination.² Had the able critic admitted another written source besides these two, his hypothesis would have been impregnable. Yet his essay was an epoch-making one. The following positions appear to be safe.

1. There are frequent examples of verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark, some of them long and remarkable.

MATTHEW xiii.

3. Ἰδοὺ, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.

4. Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν ἃ μὲν ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτά.

MARK iv.

3. Ἰδοὺ, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι.

4. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὁ μὲν ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.

¹ 'Tanquam pedissequus et breviator.'—*De Consensu Evangeliorum*, i. 2.

² Griesbach's *Opuscula Academica*, vol. ii. p. 358, etc.

MATTHEW xiii.

5. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πε-
τρῶδη, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν,
καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν
βάθος γῆς.

6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυ-
ματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν
ἐξηράνθη.

7. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάν-
θας· καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι
καὶ ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτά.

8, 9. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
τὴν καλήν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπόν,

ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὁ δὲ ἐξήκοντα,
ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα.

ὁ ἔχων ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.

22. Καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος
καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου
συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον, καὶ
ἄκαρπος γίνεται.

Similar verbal coincidences are found in Matt. xvi.
13-28 and Mark viii. 27-ix. 1; in Matt. xvii. 1-10,
and Mark ix. 2-9.

2. There are also frequent examples of verbal coin-
cidence between Luke and Mark.

MARK x.

14. Ἀφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι
πρὸς με, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, τῶν
γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
Θεοῦ.

15. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅς ἐάν μὴ
δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς
παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.

17. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω
ἵνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;

18. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τί
με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ
μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός.

19. Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας,
μὴ μοιχεύσης,
μὴ φονεύσης,
μὴ κλέψης,
μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης,
μὴ ἀποστερήσης,
τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου
καὶ τὴν μητέρα.

MARK iv.

5. Ἄλλο δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πε-
τρῶδες, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν, καὶ
εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν
βάθος γῆς.

6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυ-
ματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν
ἐξηράνθη.

7. Καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάν-
θας· καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι,
καὶ συνέπνιξαν αὐτό, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ
ἔδωκεν.

8, 9. Καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν
τὴν καλήν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν ἀνα-
βαίνοντα καὶ αὐξανόμενον, καὶ ἔφερεν,
ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα
καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν.

καὶ ἔλεγεν,
ὁ ἔχων ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.

19. Καὶ αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος
καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου
συμπνίγουσιν τὸν λόγον καὶ
ἄκαρπος γίνεται.

LUKE xviii.

16. Ἀφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι
πρὸς με, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, τῶν
γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
Θεοῦ.

17. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅς ἐάν μὴ
δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς
παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.

18. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας
ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;

19. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τί
με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ
μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός.

20. Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας,
μὴ μοιχεύσης,
μὴ φονεύσης,
μὴ κλέψης,
μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης,

τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου
καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.

Compare also Mark iii. 4, 5, with Luke vi. 9, 10; Mark i. 24, 25, with Luke iv. 34, 35.

3. In several sections Mark's text agrees partly with Matthew and partly with Luke, so that it seems a compound of both.

MATTHEW viii. 2-4.

Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed.

And Jesus saith to him, See thou speak to no man: but go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.

MARK i. 40-44.

If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand and touched him, and saith to him, I will; be thou clean. And as soon as he had spoken, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. [Ver. 43 not contained either in Matthew or Luke.]

And saith to him, See thou say nothing to any man; but go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.

LUKE v. 12-16.

Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

And he charged him to speak to no man; but go, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

Compare also Mark ii. 13-22 with Matt. ix. 9-17 and Luke v. 27-39.

4. The whole of Mark's gospel, except about twenty-seven verses, is contained either in Matthew's or Luke's. This fact, coupled with the preceding propositions, leads to the conclusion that it was probably compiled from them.

5. Mark's arrangement is usually the same as that of Matthew or Luke.

6. It is not likely that Mark would have limited the choice of his facts almost entirely to those which Matthew and Luke record, had he written independently of them.

But it is said that Mark may have written his gospel first, and the other synoptists have used it, enlarging its contents and filling in new matter. To this we reply, that ancient historical testimony uniformly asserts that Matthew wrote first. The portion of the gospel traditions which would be committed to writing in the first instance was the sayings of Christ. Events and incidents would be retained in the memory longer, and would not need to be put into writing. Now Mark has few discourses in comparison with Matthew. He narrates events, especially miracles, rather than the sayings of Jesus. This fact militates against the priority of his gospel, and agrees with the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, that Mark was the latest of the synoptists. It is very improbable also that a Roman gospel should have preceded a Palestinian one like Matthew's. And the earliest gospel citations from extra-canonical writings, such as the Gospel of the Hebrews, presuppose the existence of Matthew's and Luke's, not that of Mark exclusively. Internal evidence shows that Mark's gospel is condensed from the others, instead of the others arising by amplification from it. There are also instances of incompleteness which are hardly compatible with the idea of its preceding the other two. In his desire for brevity the writer has some examples of obscurity, so that it is necessary to consult the others to get at his meaning. This obscurity has not arisen from Mark being the first evangelist who put the oral gospel into writing, though brevity and incompleteness might attach to the earliest record; it amounts to incorrectness at times, arising from haste or oversight in employing the sources. If this can be shown, the argument that Mark, having two other gospels before him, would have avoided incongruities and made his own document more perspicuous and unexceptionable than they, will fall to the ground. Thus in the account of the man possessed with a legion

of devils, Mark states that the people of the district, hearing of his cure, came and saw him *clothed* (v. 15), an expression which receives its explanation from Luke viii. 27, which says that he 'ware no clothes.' In xiii. 4, the phrase '*all* these things,' is difficult, for the context specifies the destruction of the temple only. It is borrowed from Matt. xxiv. 6, presupposing what explains it there; for the evangelist represents the disciples as asking Jesus not only about the destruction of the temple, but about His coming and the end of the world. The temptation of Jesus (i. 13) lasted forty days, whereas Matthew puts it at the end of the forty. Luke agrees with Mark. No mention is made of fasting forty days and nights; but the expression, 'angels ministered to him,' which is without significance in the absence of fasting, may suggest it. Mark adds the new feature, 'he was with the wild beasts,' which savours of a time when superstitious circumstances gathered around the fact, or when the evangelist could add that trait to make the picture more graphic. The moral import of the temptation is lost in the short account; and the thing resolves itself into a marvellous adventure. In vi. 54, we read, 'When they were come out of the ship, *they* knew him.' It is not said who knew him; none but the disciples being previously mentioned. The first gospel shows that it was 'the men of that place' (xiv. 35); which words are in some MSS. and versions of Mark's text, though evidently spurious.

In xv. 39, the centurion's inference that Jesus was a Son of God because He yielded up the ghost after a great cry, is not reasonable or natural. Some other grounds must have led him to the conclusion. The parallel passage in Matthew places the matter in a right view, by relating that the earth quaked, the rocks rent, and the graves opened. After seeing these convulsions of nature, the centurion and those with him were greatly afraid, saying, *Truly this was a Son of God.* The evan-

gelist follows Luke in omitting the earthquake and the opening of the graves ; but instead of making the centurion say as in the third gospel, 'Certainly this was a righteous man,' he follows Matthew, 'Truly this was a Son of God.'

In chap. iii. 13-19 Luke is followed in making the selection of the twelve apostles take place on the mountain immediately before the sermon ; and the list of names is given awkwardly, because the writer had reference to Matthew x. 2-4 as well as to Luke iii. 13-19. The combination of the two sources makes the succession of names peculiar, and detracts from its naturalness. The connection in which the appointment is put is not indeed the same as in Matthew and Luke ; but chap. vi. 7 gives an intimation of its right position.

In chap. iii. 20-22, where Jesus was thronged by the multitude in a house, it is abruptly related that the scribes who came down from Jerusalem objected to Him that He cast out devils by Beelzebub. The accusation becomes intelligible only by means of Matthew xii. 22, where it follows the healing of a blind and dumb man.

In chap. iii. 21 we read, 'When his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold on him : for they said, He is beside himself.'

This is one of the exaggerations which are not unusual in Mark. The verse in question is derived from what is said in the 22nd and 30th about the scribes, where expressions occur that are converted into the cause of Jesus's being visited by his mother and brethren.

Again, the evangelist has incorrectnesses arising from a process combining Matthew and Luke, or from the insertion of additional particulars. Thus in the history of the transfiguration, it is stated that Peter did not know what he said, *for they were sore afraid* (ix. 6). The cause of the fear is not given. In Mat-

thew, the corresponding phrase stands in its right place, i.e. after the appearance of a bright overshadowing cloud and the utterance of a voice from the cloud, causing the disciples to fall on their faces (Matt. xvii. 6, comp. Luke ix. 34).

In iv. 13, the reproof which Jesus administers to the disciples is out of place: 'Know ye not this parable, and how then will ye know all parables?' This arose from the idea of the evangelist, that the disciples were praised in the preceding context for their understanding the sense of parables which was hidden from others. But as that was inconsistent with the fact that Jesus explains the meaning of the parable to them which He had just delivered, Mark introduces the explanation with the reproof conveyed in the thirteenth verse. Jesus did not act in this manner. When His disciples asked the meaning of a parable He willingly gave it, because inquiry was a hopeful sign which He encouraged. After the explanation of the parable, the twenty-fourth verse runs thus: 'And he saith unto them, Take heed what ye hear: *with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you*; and unto you that hear shall more be given.' Here the connection is less suitable than that of Luke from whom the incident is taken. 'And he saith unto them,' is less appropriate than Luke's connecting *therefore*; while the words in italics are taken from Matthew's gospel and interrupt the context.

In ix. 35-37, where Luke is followed, who also omits Matt. xviii. 3, 4, Mark has given an imperfect and obscure representation. In opposition to the ambition of the disciples, Jesus recommends humility by setting the example of children before them; as we see from Matthew. But Mark's words contain an exhortation to receive and cherish children; so that the true import of the passage is unintelligible without Matt. xviii. 3, 4.

Another remarkable example of the combining process occurs in chapter vi. 14-16, where an employment

of the two synoptics can hardly be mistaken. Herod hearing of Jesus's works identifies Him with John the Baptist whom he had beheaded. Then the opinions of others are given, and it is added: 'but when Herod heard thereof he said, It is John whom I beheaded, he is risen from the dead.' The beginning, or the fourteenth verse, is taken from Matthew xiv. 1, 2. The different opinions of the people are next derived from Luke ix. 7, 8, and the 16th verse of Mark vi. reverts to Matthew. Thus Mark begins his account with Matthew's, he continues it with Luke's, and terminates it with Matthew's, or rather repeats unnecessarily what he had already given from Matthew. Had he not looked to Matthew again in this instance, he would have avoided the repetition of Herod's words. This passage in Mark shows that the writer could not have begun as he does if he had not had Matthew before him, nor continued as he does if he had not had Luke, nor ended as he does if he had not had Matthew. The verb *heard* in the 14th verse has no object such as it has in Matthew; the abridging process obliterating it, though the parenthesis implies its antecedence. The reading *they said* in the fourteenth verse, which Lachmann and Fritzsche have adopted after some authorities, is obviously a correction, to make the fourteenth and sixteenth verses agree.

In i. 2, 3, we read, 'As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold I send my messenger before thy face who shall prepare thy way. A voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' Here two different quotations follow the introductory formula *written in Isaiah the prophet*, although the first is from Malachi. The evangelist's mistake arose from his looking exclusively to Matthew and Luke, without considering that an additional citation to theirs made the introductory formula inapplicable in part.

In Mark i. 15 there is an incongruous combination

of the parallels in Matthew and Luke (iv. 17, and xxii. 16). By blending the two together a contradiction is produced; for how can the time be *fulfilled* when the kingdom is only *approaching*? The watchword of Jesus, as Keim appropriately calls His initial address, is correctly given by Matthew alone. Mark's words 'believe in the gospel' are manifestly unoriginal.

The woman with the issue of blood (v. 25, etc.) was healed both by touching Jesus's garment and by His word; the former being derived from Luke, the latter from Matthew.

In abbreviating Matthew iii. 16 Mark has made Jesus the subject of the heavenly vision (i. 10), for the verb *saw* has Jesus for its nominative. But in the first gospel he who *saw* is the Baptist, to whom also the pronoun, if genuine,¹ refers. The apparent ambiguity of Matthew's words misled Mark, who has the unsuitable *unto him*, especially as Luke coincides with the former. The vision occurred to the Baptist, pointing out the chosen of God for the Messianic calling: Jesus himself was passive.

The scene in which the Syrophenician woman appears is represented as taking place within the house, which is not original. Matthew is correct in describing it as happening on the highway (Mark vii. 24).

The account of the demoniacs at Gadara in Mark v. 1-17 is less original than it is in Matthew. Mark and Luke have embellished it.

That the combining process is not well carried out in every case appears from ii. 18: 'And the disciples of John and the Pharisees were fasting; and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not? (Compare Matthew ix. 14, Luke v. 33.) Here the form of the question is improper, for the correct form

¹ αὐτῷ, to him.

would have been, 'Why do the disciples of John and we,' etc., etc.

In xiv. 53-65, we observe the later and less original form in which the circumstances are narrated. The paragraph is taken from Matthew; but when the witnesses represent Jesus as having said, 'I will destroy this temple *made with hands*,¹ and I will build another *made without hands*,'² later reflectiveness is observable. *To them that are without* (iv. 11) is also of later origin, inappropriate at a time when the church and the world were not so definitely divided. The reader is reminded of 1 Corinthians v. 12; 1 Thess. iv. 12; 1 Timothy iii. 7; Coloss. iv. 5.³

In xi. 10 the additional paraphrastic words, 'Blessed be the coming Kingdom of our father David,' are secondary and unsuitable.

Mark also abridges, omitting the difficult expression *hereafter*,⁴ Matt. xxvi. 64, because he understood Jesus to speak of His coming again literally. He also retains the word *prophesy* alone, without its necessary context 'Who is he that smote thee?' (Matt. xxvi. 68.) Why does Mark follow Luke in giving an incorrect purpose for the parables (iv. 11, 12)? Jesus did not employ parabolic teaching that the people might misunderstand it. How could He use a method of converting His hearers, which was meant to hinder their conversion? The evangelist gives a later and artificial justification of a simple fact. According to xv. 8 the people took the initiative of mercy, a view which departs from the original account in Matthew that it proceeded from Pilate.

Words implying the Gentile mission are inappropriately inserted in the earlier sayings of Christ, though

¹ χειροποίητον.

² ἀχειροποίητον.

³ Mr. Kenrick's explanation 'to those who are without yonder,' Christ pointing to the multitude, is improbable.—*Biblical Essays*, p. 25.

⁴ ἀπ' ἄρτι.

this gospel never mentions a commission to the apostles to preach to the nations (xiii. 10, xiv. 9). Enough has been said to refute the statement of Pfleiderer that the gospel completely explains itself without the aid of any other, and that it is all the issue of a single casting.

The secondary character of Mark's gospel appears from additions which are made to the parallel accounts of Matthew and Luke. The pictorial power by which the evangelist is characterised is often adduced as a mark of originality, as if he had either been an eyewitness of the scenes he describes, or had drawn his details from the oral communications of an eyewitness like Peter. This hypothesis is incorrect, since many passages show that the graphic colouring and vivid details belong to the writer's manner. Thus in the historical narrative respecting Christ feeding five thousand with five loaves and two fishes, the evangelist says, 'He commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the *green grass*. And they sat down in ranks by hundreds and by fifties' (vi. 39, 40); '*and of the fishes*' (vi. 43); in the transfiguration, 'Jesus's raiment became shining, exceeding white, *so as no fuller on earth can white them*' (ix. 3); in the description of the place where the disciples found the colt, 'they found the colt tied *by the door without, in a place where two ways met*' (xi. 4); in recording how the paralytic person was set before Jesus, 'they uncovered the roof where he was, *and when they had broken it up*, they let down the bed,' etc. (ii. 4); these features show an intention to infuse life into his descriptions. The additions also, '*with the hired servants*' (i. 20); 'and all the city was gathered together *at the door*' (i. 33); 'they were sore amazed *in themselves beyond measure*' (vi. 51); the multitude was so great that Jesus and His disciples 'could not *so much as eat bread*' (iii. 20); 'looking round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts' (iii. 5); 'and straightway the fountain of

her blood was dried up ; and she felt in her body that she was healed of that plague' (v. 29). Matthew's account of the woman with the bloody flux is more original than Mark's or Luke's. '*When he had called the people unto him* with his disciples also' (viii. 34); 'whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words *in this adulterous and sinful generation*' (viii. 38); 'beholding' (x. 21); 'taking up in his arms' (ix. 36; x. 16); 'sitting down' (ix. 35; xii. 41); 'beneath the table' (vii. 28); 'laid upon a bed' (vii. 30); 'sighing deeply in his spirit' (viii. 12); 'was much displeased' (x. 14); 'in the hinder part of the ship asleep on a pillow' (iv. 38); 'and they had a few small fishes, and he blessed and commanded to set them also before them' (viii. 6); 'and looking upon his disciples he rebuked Peter' (viii. 33); 'Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!' (xiii. 1); 'and the high-priest stood up *in the midst*, and asked Jesus, saying' (xiv. 60); 'there cometh a maid *of the high-priest*, and when she saw Peter warming himself' (xiv. 66); 'when the centurion that stood by saw that he so cried out and gave up the ghost,' etc. (xv. 39); 'and when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away, *for it was very great*' (xvi. 4);—are pictorial ; and their frequency proves that they belong to the author's manner. The addition in v. 26, respecting the woman with the issue of blood, that she had suffered from many physicians and *was rather worse*, is a quiet touch of reproach. The graphic feature appears in the sayings and discourses as well as the narratives. Thus Mark makes John the Baptist say, 'I am not worthy *to stoop* and loose the latchet of his sandals' (i. 7); and to the expression, *yielded fruit*, he adds, 'springing up and increasing' (iv. 8). So too he throws into the description of the mustard plant, 'shooteth out great branches' (iv. 32). Such love of graphic amplification has produced language that is unsuitable, if not incorrect ; as in

chap. xvi. 2, where '*when the sun had risen,*' is added to the statement 'very early in the morning.'

That the pictorial notices do not belong to the original freshness of the materials, but to the subjectivity of the evangelist, is still more apparent from the mode in which the sententiousness of Christ's sayings is expanded, so that they lose much of their forcible and incisive brevity. This is done by introducing reasons, by explanatory or amplifying adjuncts, and by changing figurative expressions. Thus when Matthew makes Jesus express the idea that meats cannot defile a man, by, 'Whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly and is cast out into the draught,' Mark has, It 'entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, purging all meats,' by which scrupulous exactness the idea may be clearer, but it loses the pregnant force of the original in Matthew (Mark vii. 19). In ix. 39, an additional reason is introduced for allowing a person to cast out devils in the name of Jesus: 'There is no man that shall do a miracle in my name who can speak evil of me lightly,' which makes the general proposition following, 'He that is not against us is for us,' clearer; but the reply of Jesus becomes less emphatic and forcible by the motive adduced. In a similar way, the threat of hell-fire against those who will not put off selfishness is enforced by the reason, 'Every one shall be salted with fire,' or purified by the fire of trial in the judgment; and this again gives rise to: 'Salt is good, but if the salt become saltless, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another' (ix. 49, 50). Reasons for avoiding hell-fire are appended to the original words, without adding to their strength or lucidity. In like manner, when we read in xiv. 7, 'For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good,' compared with the same in Matt. xxvi. 11, 'For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always,' it

is plain that the unnecessary addition, '*whensoever ye will ye may do them good*,' flattens the statement. In xiv. 8, the phrase, 'she did it for my burial,' in Matthew, is altered into the literal but weaker, 'she hath come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.' So too in iv. 19, the concrete sententiousness of Christ's expressions loses it power by the addition, *the lusts of other things entering in*. 'Cares and riches and pleasures,' which Luke has, bears the stamp of originality, rather than the enlarged form of the phrase in Mark. The same remark applies to the 'many other such like things' of vii. 13. In vii. 22, the enumeration of the things which defile man is drawn out into a complete register of individual sins, as if logical fulness were necessary on the lips of Jesus. The addition in iii. 26, 'but hath an end,' is secondary and trivial. In Matthew, where the original is rightly given (xxii. 43), Mark adds to the word *spirit* the adjective *holy*, making the sense, 'David said in the Holy Spirit' (Mark xii. 36). This is a later form of 'David in spirit calls,' etc. We cannot agree with De Wette that the reading of Mark is nearer the original. In xiii. 37, 'and what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch,' the admonition is applied generally as if it should not be confined to the apostles. Its value is considered too great to be restricted to a few.

The evangelical narrative exhibits similar evidence of designed modifications or amplifications of the primitive record. Thus in xi. 13, the cause of Jesus's not finding fruit on the fig-tree is said to be, 'it was not the time of figs;' a curious reason, because it increases the difficulty attaching to the cursing of the tree. The description is not original or clear; a fact which Ewald himself admits, accounting for it by Mark's working over older sources.¹ In viii. 3, where the second miraculous feeding of the multitude is re-

¹ *Drei ersten Evangelien*, erste Hälfte, p. 390.

lated, the danger of their fainting by the way should they be sent away hungry is accounted for by the fact that 'divers of them came from far.'

It is detrimental to the originality of Mark that one occurrence is doubled; a fact disagreeing with the idea of the gospel being a true record of Peter's reminiscences. Thus the feeding of the multitude is related twice (vi. 35-44; viii. 5-9). In like manner vi. 45-52 is an exaggerated repetition of iv. 35-41, having for its object the display of miraculous power. The addition peculiar to Mark, 'and they were sore amazed in themselves, for they considered not the miracle of the loaves, for their heart was hardened,' shows that if the miracle of stilling the sea had taken place before, the disciples would have understood that Jesus was a wonder-worker, rendering all reference to the multiplication of the loaves unnecessary. The statement about the disciples not understanding that Jesus was a miracle-worker, and being now amazed at what He did, with the allusion to the previous feeding of the multitude, proves vi. 45-52 to be only a second edition of iv. 35-41. Here Mark follows Matthew, as he does in other cases, not omitting the walking of Jesus on the sea, a display of miraculous power contrary to Matthew iv. 7.

A comparison of Mark i. 32-34 with Matthew viii. 16 and Luke iv. 40, etc., shows the posteriority of the second gospel to the others. To Matthew's words 'when the even was come,' which are also in Mark, the latter unnecessarily adds from Luke, 'when the sun *was setting*.' Matthew says, they brought to Jesus *many* possessed with demons, the spirits were cast out, and Jesus healed *all* that were diseased, without any specification of the latter being brought to the healer. Mark says, that the people brought to him *all* that were diseased and those possessed with demons; then inserting, in accordance with his manner, 'and all the city was gathered together at the door,' he proceeds to announce that Jesus

healed *many* sick, and cast out *many* demons. If all the sick were brought, why did He not heal them all? Instead of *spirits* in Matthew, Mark has *demons*, correcting the expression by the preceding participle 'possessed with demons.'¹ The 33rd verse is his own hyperbolical addition; and the repetition of *many* besides *all* agrees with his usual style. He speaks first of the *all* who were diseased, then of the *many*, subjoining 'of divers diseases,' a clause taken from Luke. We conclude that Mark's account of the evening cures is a revision of what the other synoptists presented.

These examples prove that the descriptions have not the character of originality. They are graphic, no doubt, in some cases, and the colouring is fresh; but native simplicity is absent. The pragmatism of the writer is apparent. Design is perceptible, which not unfrequently aims at clearness and vividness of detail by artificial means. Reflectiveness, indicating a later stage of gospel-writing, betrays the non-originality of the document. The older a writing, the more rugged and simple it generally is; whereas the gospel of Mark presents a diffuseness and circumstantiality of detail which savours of a later period. It accumulates and exaggerates. Had the evangelist been occupied with the original oral traditions, he would not have bestowed so much care on subordinate details; the body of the materials would have claimed his attention. It is evident that the main contents of the evangelical history had been already put together when Mark began to write; and it remained for him to set individual events and circumstances in a clearer light, and to place them in the position of cause and effect. The evangelist is too much of an eclectic to have been one of the first gospel writers. He is more intent on picturesque details than on arranging the body of the history.

¹ δαμονιζομένων.

The tendency to exaggerate by the accumulation of particulars and the copious use of negatives, along with the repetition of what had been said already, is scarcely consistent with fidelity to the alleged Petrine reminiscences. The desire of vivid, graphic writing interferes with perfect correctness. This is admitted by Weiss himself, who says that errors and flaws are found in the work, though he puts it higher than Matthew's and Luke's.

Again, the nature of the historical and archæological explanations shows the secondary character of the gospel. They are often unimportant, prosaic, unsuitable and trifling. Thus, *in the days of Abiathar* (ii. 26); the number of the swine (v. 13); *Dalmanutha*, for *the coasts of Magdala* (viii. 10); *a Greek woman, a Syro-phenician by birth*, for *a Canaanitish woman* (vii. 26); *Bartimeus*, the name of the blind man at Jericho (x. 46); the minute play of numbers, 'before the cock crow *twice* thou shalt deny me thrice,' in harmony with which three denials, whereas the first crowing reminding Peter of the words of Jesus, must have prevented a second denial (xiv. 68-72); the paralytic *borne of four* (ii. 3)—are trifling details, the first of them at least incorrect. Nor can it escape the reader's notice, that words of Jesus which sound somewhat hard or severe are softened, so as to yield a less objectionable sense. Thus in x. 23, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God,' is modified into 'How hard is it *for them that trust in riches* to enter into the kingdom of God' (x. 24).¹ The same cause has operated in the sentence, 'He shall receive an hundredfold *now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions,*' where the reward is particularised in correspondence

¹ The words italicised are omitted by various critical editors; but we believe them to be original, because the evidence for them is much stronger than that against.

with the loss, but with the added *persecutions*. For a like reason, the passage in Matthew respecting men making themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, is left out (Matt. xix. 12). The words of Jesus addressed to the Canaanitish woman, preserved by Matthew in their original form, are modified, so that the clause, 'let the children first be filled,' is inserted before 'it is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to the dogs' (vii. 27).

In like manner, the peculiar stress which Mark's gospel lays upon the expulsion of demons from the possessed, bespeaks a later period than Matthew's. The main purpose of the Messiah is represented to be the destruction of evil spirits as a necessary condition of establishing His divine kingdom in the world. And the conflict of Jesus with the powers of darkness is put in a stronger light by Mark than it is by Luke. Hence our gospel proceeds at once to a case of demon subjugation (i. 23).

It has been already said that Mark's Petrine document may have been used in the present one. This should be remembered in any examination of the portions peculiar to the latter. The evangelist was not confined to Matthew and Luke for his information; neither can all his details be explained by referring them to his own subjectivity. But it is difficult to believe, with Holtzmann, that the primitive Mark (or Petrine gospel) was the most copious source of the present one. Those who minimise the matter received from the original Mark, as Scholten does, are nearer the truth than Holtzmann. The material derived from this source appears but seldom in its original state, being incorporated with that which comes from other sources. It is visible, however, in different places and forms; especially in the prominence given to Capernaum as Peter's home. Jesus begins His public ministry there, making His *first* entrance into it with Peter; instead of His second, as

Matthew has it. Some think that they can still see the traces of an eyewitness—that is, of Peter ; but these are rather the pictorial embellishments of the final redactor. The indebtedness to Matthew and Luke is much greater than to the alleged Petrine memoirs. If the present gospel be Mark's, the author did not stop with the arrangement of what Peter recollected and told, but modified and added to the facts themselves. The influence of tradition, not an amanuensis's hand alone, appears in the process.

Care should be taken to distinguish between the traits that proceed from the evangelist himself and such as come from a written source. All the peculiarities of the gospel are not the writer's own. Some original modes of representation give Mark the preference over Matthew and Luke, and it is probably on the basis of these that many scholars claim for the second gospel priority in time and genuineness, believing that it presents the earliest account. The way in which the Messiahship of Jesus is unfolded is the prominent feature that gives a preference to Mark's gospel over Matthew's. The latter makes Him appear and be recognised as the Messiah too soon ; the former gives the way in which the dignity was gradually prepared for, after the disciples had been repeatedly enjoined not to make Him known as a miracle-worker. Peter's profession of faith in Christ is authentic, 'Thou art the Christ' (viii. 29), instead of 'Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God,' which Matthew gives (xvi. 16). Other materials of an original type will catch the eye of the attentive reader. Thus in i. 36, the notice that Simon and they who were with him followed Jesus to bring Him back to Capernaum, probably came to the evangelist as part of a written work. The same remark applies to the narrative of the young man in Gethsemane who followed Jesus (xiv. 51) ; to the notice that Jesus would not suffer any man to carry a vessel through the temple (xi. 16) ; the obser-

vation about Pilate wondering that Jesus was dead so soon (xv. 44, 45); the mention of Bethsaida (vi. 45); the works of Jesus in Decapolis (vii. 31); and the declaration respecting the sabbath (ii. 27). In like manner, the statement that Herod was a willing hearer of John the Baptist's, and yet was much perplexed about him (vi. 20), points to an original source, as is even implied in the remark of Matthew about Herod's sorrow at Herodias's request. The account of the last supper in xiv. 22-25 is authentic, preferable on the whole even to Luke's, which probably rests on Paul's testimony, and to Matthew's, which has amplifications, such as *for the remission of sins* (xxvi. 28); and the word *many*, which is taken from Matthew; whereas Luke has correctly *you*. It is less original and probable in Mark that he makes James and John prefer their own ambitious request, instead of their mother as Matthew does; since the former evangelist had just said before of the apostles that *they were amazed and afraid* as they followed their Master (x. 32). Matthew does not therefore soften down Mark's narrative in this place, as Kenrick supposes. Other instances of the primary character belonging to the second gospel may be seen in Holtzmann, Weiss, and others, though we cannot accept them all as valid. Is it a mark of originality or earliness in Mark to give the demoniacs the precedence in proclaiming Jesus to be the Son of God or the Messiah (i. 24, 34; v. 7)?¹ The examples adduced in favour of Mark being the protevangelium are appropriate in some cases, but the mass of evidence favours the contrary. It is easy to quote passages in which Mark is not the epitomiser of Matthew or Luke; in which he puts things in a more original form or is more circumstantial; but *the general character* remains the same. The gospel is a dependent one, briefer in contents, eclectic, with various graphic details which give life to the description.

¹ See Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, pp. 347, 348.

That it is secondary is sometimes betrayed very clearly, as in iv. 24, where the words 'with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you' are taken from Matthew vii. 2, and break the connection.

In the present state of Mark's gospel the apostolic origin which some are so anxious to uphold loses much of its value by modifying instruments. Who can tell whether Mark reproduced faithfully and exactly in Greek the narratives he received from Peter? Who can find out how much other sources contributed to the composition of the gospel? It is highly probable that Mark's original settings of Peter's fragmentary recollections were early displaced by another gospel retaining little material of its predecessor. The advocates of Mark's priority to the other synoptics, and of its superior originality because of Peter's connection with it, must allow such deviation from the meagre record as it first appeared, such additions to it after Mark's time, and so much shaping of the materials that the great worth they attach to its apostolic origin is undermined. It is still a secondary gospel like the sources whence it was taken. The advocates of its priority are obliged to admit that it has secondary and late matter, for which Weiss has recourse either to the apostolic source used in Matthew (the *logia*), or to oral tradition; neither of which, however, was implicitly followed by the evangelist. Even Peter's reminiscences written down by Mark were not in all cases correct; and the apostolic source itself had sometimes, though unconsciously, a prejudicial effect on the evangelists. Such shifts to preserve Mark's originality are evidences of weakness. How hard it is to find good authority for the secondary and incorrect material in this gospel, apart from the first and third! The splitting of such authority into pieces not absolutely trustworthy hinders the solution of the whole question.

CHARACTERISTICS.

1. The gospel is catholic, undoctinal, mediating, neutral, and without the strong Judaic elements which are abundant in Matthew. Such expressions as, 'I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' 'the holy place' for the temple, are absent. The house of prayer is said to be 'for all the nations;' and the external literal observance of the sabbath is reproved. The universal destination of Christianity, which is termed *new doctrine* (i. 27), is declared (xiii. 10). In conformity with this, great stress is laid on the power of faith to save (v. 34; ix. 23; x. 52; and especially xvi. 16). Faith is attached to the person of Christ, in which respect a Pauline echo is seen. No direct opposition to Judaism is expressed. The Jewish nation generally is not the subject of severe rebukes; on the contrary, with the exception of the Sanhedrists, Pharisees, Herodians, and his own relatives and countrymen, Jesus obtains a favourable reception, and has His divine authority admitted. The denunciations of John the Baptist addressed to the Jewish people, the allusion to the Ninevites, the threatenings of the unbelieving cities and such like, which appear in Matthew and Luke, are absent. The dogmatic element recedes perhaps because certain dogmas were not yet elevated into importance enough to become criteria of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Accordingly, the gospel has nothing of the supernatural birth of Jesus, though it must have been believed in the writer's day. The absence of that history which records the conception, birth, and childhood of Christ should not be adduced as a proof of the gospel's early origin, as it is by some, for the writer presupposes it as in the synoptics, and develops it even to its negative consequences. Instead of Matthew's 'Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary?' Mark has 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?' which

agrees better with birth from a virgin than the genealogical registers, where Joseph intervenes in order to deduce the Davidic descent of Jesus. *Son of David* is applied to Christ only once (x. 47). We infer, therefore, that the omission of the genealogies by this evangelist arose out of a later circle of ideas than the analogous ones in Matthew and Luke. The gospel betrays a tendency to omit all that could give direct offence to Jewish and Gentile Christians. It passes over the points of difference between the parties—all that were the cause of controversy. Theoretical principles or fundamental positions are avoided. The author selects, limiting himself to common ground, with the object of promoting union. He gives the basis on which later Jewish Christianity united with Paulinism; the incipient belief which led to the developed one of the catholic Church. The neutrality of the gospel was an important factor in conciliating antagonistic parties. Weiss asserts that the object of the gospel is purely didactic, having nothing to do with doctrinal questions or with the contrarieties of the apostolic age. But where is the writer so far lifted up above and beyond his age as to be perfectly indifferent to its characteristic phenomena? Has such a man ever appeared? If the apostolic time was one of unusual excitement consequent upon the introduction of a new religion; if it called forth antagonistic elements leading to conflicts within the nascent religion itself; how could an author in contact with apostles be unconcerned about the stirring events amid which he lived? Was he stoically insensible to the spiritual commotions around him? Could it be his sole purpose to make a vivid description of certain remarkable events, to take a limited pleasure in composing a lively narrative of Jesus's life? We think not. He could not avoid being influenced to some extent by the great question in which Paul was the prominent figure. His neutrality has respect to the antagonism

of the Petrines and Paulines, tending to heal the breach by portraying, without bias to either side, the earthly life of Jesus; though the reader sees that he was a Paulinist Christian.

2. The gospel presents Christ as a superhuman divine person, not so much in His discourses as in the works and miracles He performed. The former are a subordinate feature. His surpassing majesty is shown in mighty acts. The extraordinary influence He possessed has special prominence. Hence His power over demons is held up to view more than in any other of the synoptics; and the thronging crowds that press on Him on every side give a vivid picture of the effect produced. The figure of the Redeemer is a commanding one, overawing, dazzling, mysterious. The doubts of the Baptist respecting Him are not mentioned; *He calls unto Him whom He would* (iii. 13); and the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is resolved into calumny against Jesus (iii. 30). The very incapacity of the disciples to recognise the Messiah in Him, and to apprehend the object of His ministry, is described more strongly in order to show the unique greatness and majesty of His person. Thus He does not appear as a teacher, but rather as the founder of a divine kingdom; putting forth marvellous manifestations of the mighty power that enabled Him to vanquish both spiritual and human adversaries. The teacher is subordinate to the doer of mighty works; the mild, persuasive, authoritative instructor, such as He appears in the sermon on the mount, becomes a great personage who sets up an imperishable kingdom by the overwhelming power of His acts. He even heals the daughter of the Syrophenician woman in her absence, which does not suit the early date of the gospel.

3. We observe a tendency to separate discourses addressed to the disciples from those meant for such as were *without*; in other words, a distinction is drawn

between Jesus's esoteric and exoteric teaching. Thus in vii. 17 we read, 'When he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable.' So in x. 10, his disciples asked him about the subject of marriage, '*in the house.*' And in iv. 34, after saying that Jesus spoke to the people only in parables, it is added, 'when they were alone he expounded all things to his disciples.' Another example is in iv. 10, 11, where it is specified that when Jesus was alone he was asked the meaning of a parable by His disciples, who are expressly separated from *those without*. This feature belongs to Matthew and Luke in a less degree. Jesus, however, was not an esoteric teacher.

4. The vivid description and graphic details of Mark have been already spoken of. In this respect he forms a striking contrast to Matthew. He shows a decided preference for the present tense, and introduces persons themselves as speakers, where the other synoptists employ the third person. His striving after minuteness has led to the specification of persons (i. 20; iii. 6, 17, 32, 34; iv. 11; v. 52, 37, 40; vi. 40, 48; vii. 1, 25, 26; viii. 10, 27; ix. 15, 36; x. 16, 23, 35, 46; xi. 21, 27; xiii. 1, 3; xiv. 20, 37, 65; xv. 7, 21, 40, 47; xvi. 7); places (i. 28; iv. 1, 38; v. 11, 20; vi. 55; vii. 31; viii. 10, 27; ix. 30; xii. 41; xv. 16, 39; xvi. 5); and time (i. 32, 35; ii. 1, 26; iv. 35; vi. 2; xi. 11, 19, 20; xiv. 1, 12, 17, 30, 68, 72; xv. 1, 25, 33, 34, 42; xvi. 1, 2).

We have already said that the vividness of description which Mark usually effects by inserting details unknown to Matthew and Luke, does not necessarily imply an eyewitness or more originality than that of the other synoptists. On this point many critics are misled, because they do not consider *the character* of the delineations supposed to indicate priority of time to those of Matthew and Luke. It has been argued that the manner in which our evangelist represents the per-

formance of miracles shows an earlier form of the gospel tradition; and we are reminded of the fact that Mark recognises the use of natural means in several instances (vi. 5, 13; vii. 32). But this indicates a later reflectiveness. Had it been the common belief from the beginning that miracles were within the compass of natural causes, we might suppose that Mark represents an earlier form of tradition than the evangelists who omit all notice of the natural: but as that is incorrect, the natural element is the creation of a later period not a mark of the earliest.

The narratives of Mark respecting the expulsion of demons by Jesus, while more emphatic and frequent than those of the other synoptics, have certain peculiarities which consign them to a later period. The gradual development of Jesus's Messianic consciousness is a phenomenon commonly admitted by critics to lie in the second gospel, yet the persons possessed by demons whom He cast out are said to know Him as the Son of God. There is only one case of such knowledge in Matthew, viz. that of the possessed Gadarenes; in Mark and Luke the peculiarity is usual. The demoniacs know Jesus to be the Messiah at a time when His immediate disciples seem to have been ignorant of it. Surely this trait in Mark's narratives of the possessed argues a later point of view than Matthew's. The peculiar prominence given to the healing of demoniacs in the second gospel, coupled with the pictorial circumstances which add life to the description, are in character with the method of the evangelist, and his leading desire to set forth the power of Christ over demons. The details are not an evidence of historical originality, but of the reverse. Thus in the cure of the lunatic boy, Matthew has (xvii. 17), 'Bring him hither to me;' and Jesus rebuked the demon, which came out of the sufferer, so that the boy was healed forthwith. But Mark represents Christ as questioning the father about the duration

of the malady, and describes the violence of the paroxysm following the command addressed to the evil spirit to come out, which left the boy to all appearance dead, till Jesus took him by the hand and raised him up (Mark ix. 20, etc.). The additional features show the writer's object to set the power of Jesus in a more striking light by contrast with the violence of the demon. Nor does this detract from the instantaneousness of the cure as described by Matthew. The wonder is increased in the second gospel, which favours the idea that it represents a later view. When Mr. Kenrick asserts, in relation to such miracles, that Mark wrote simply to record, Matthew and Luke to impress and convince, he mistakes the genius of the first and second gospels. The desire of Mark to *impress* is apparent throughout; while *simple recording* is obvious in Matthew. The wish to *impress* the reader accounts for many characteristics of the second gospel, and for the absence of particulars contained in the first. It even leads to a few exaggerations, as in xi. 10, where, after 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' it is added, apparently to strengthen the preceding, 'Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David.' The two miracles of healing which are peculiar to Mark, viz. vii. 32-36; viii. 22-26, have something singular about them which betrays a later type. In both cases Jesus is said to *spit* on the patients. Had Mark written first, it is unlikely that later evangelists would have omitted this circumstance or the miracles themselves. But if he succeeded Matthew and Luke, it is easy to account for them by supposing him to have taken them from another source.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

In ancient tradition Matthew's not Mark's gospel takes the first place; a fact not wholly dependent on the Aramæan basis of the former; for Clement of

Alexandria and Origen had respect to the canonical Greek when they put Matthew first. The only manuscript trace of Mark's gospel standing at the head of the synoptics is in the fragment of a Bobbian MS. brought to Turin.¹

To the origin of Mark's gospel after those of Matthew and Luke a large array of critics is opposed; their number increasing after Wilke to Reuss, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, and Weiss. But our opinion has able advocates. If we pass over Dr. H. Owen and Evanson, the latter coming very near the true date, the names of Griesbach, Paulus, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Fritzsche, Baur, Zeller, Schwegler, Strauss, and Keim should abate the confidence of those who assume that Mark was the earliest.

Whatever view be taken of the subject, Mark's originality is damaged by the admissions of Holtzmann and Weiss that the gospel contains various secondary details, compared with which Matthew and Luke present more originality. It is also spoiled by the assumption of Weiss, who makes the logia of Matthew—that is, the basis of the first gospel—a source used by Mark. The real indebtedness of Mark to Peter recedes before the concessions that the primitive Mark of Papias, the logia of Matthew, and the revising hand of the evangelist himself, were factors in the composition of the canonical work, until the genuine Petrine record is nearly lost. A few passages are all that remain to give the hypothesis the semblance of probability. In any case, the gospel's originality is blurred by fragments of discourses, arbitrarily scattered throughout.

The priority and high degree of originality which many assign to the gospel have been aided by the prejudice that the shorter are commonly the better readings. They are also promoted by the notion that the longer readings often arise from additions termed

¹ See Tischendorf's *Prolegomena*, p. lxxi.

Western or Syrian, which are considered inferior. But Mark himself has enlarged statements that cannot be original. When the present gospels were in process of formation, current tradition furnished materials; and what one gospel wanted was taken into another. Not a few of what are called Western readings proceeded from traditions as trustworthy as those which are set above them. The readings of the old Latin unrevised version, though African, are of the highest value, outweighing in many cases the texts of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS., on which the depreciators of the so-called Syrian readings lay so great stress. The tendency to discredit readings as Western has even led to the shortening of Mark's text, as in iii. 32, where 'and thy sisters' has great probability in its favour.

It is also an unsafe mode of reasoning to make the accretions in Mark's gospel to the common tradition of the synoptics an argument for its superior originality because they are fewer than those of Matthew. Arithmetical calculations of this nature based on the triple synopsis are precarious. As Mark's gospel is considerably shorter than Matthew's, the accretions must be shorter. The triple synopsis itself needs verification, as well as the additions; and the latter should not be pronounced at once 'secondary' or 'inaccuracies,' since some are original, just as various statements in the common synopsis are secondary.

Attempts have also been made to show this gospel's priority to the rest by attributing to it less of the supernatural element; and by giving the title *Son of God*, as used in it, a purely *theocratic* sense. But the interpretation is erroneous.¹ The gospel has as much of the supernatural as the other synoptists. It is true that it has not the stories of the miraculous conception and the ascension; but the former is implied in vi. 3 (comp. Matthew xiii. 55), and the latter may have

¹ See *A Study of Primitive Christianity*, by L. G. Janes, p. 94.

been in the concluding verses of ch. xvi., for the evangelist could not have stopped abruptly at the eighth verse. Absence of the ascension from the 16th chapter is no argument against its having been originally there in case the writer finished the gospel. It is also absent from Luke's gospel.

Nor has Mark a different christology from the other synoptists. The title *Son of God* has the same meaning in all, viz. the Messiah, one endued with divine power beyond any of the sons of men. But the christology of Mark's gospel is more developed than that of Matthew's and Luke's. The divinity of the Son of man has increased, and the humanity decreased proportionately—a fact unfavourable to the chronological primacy of the gospel. The synoptics have the Jewish sense of the title *Son of God*, not the metaphysical one of the fourth gospel.

It is impossible to ascertain the precise time when the gospel was written. The Paschal chronicle and other authorities place it A.D. 40; and Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, in the third year of Claudius, i.e. A.D. 43. The two most ancient testimonies, those of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, are irreconcilable; the former stating that the gospel was composed after Peter's death; the latter, while he was alive. But they agree in this, that it was written in Rome after Peter's alleged arrival there; that is, after the beginning of A.D. 63. External testimony is worthless; the internal must decide. Taking for granted at present the integrity of the gospel, the twentieth verse of the 16th chapter shows that the apostles had left Judea and preached in many places before the evangelist wrote. We also see, from comparing ix. 1 with Matthew xvi. 28, that the writer thought it necessary to put the coming of the Son of Man to set up His kingdom farther forward than Matthew, *till they see the kingdom of God coming with power*; i.e. till they see its powerful effects upon earth. The eschatological discourse given in the 13th chapter has the

words ‘*in those days* after that tribulation’ (verse 24), showing that the writer did not put the coming of Christ *immediately after* the destruction of Jerusalem. The words employed by the first evangelist are altered; and Mark avoids putting a long interval between the catastrophe of the Jewish nation and the second advent, contenting himself with the vague phrase *in those days*. If the principal object in this long discourse had been to reanimate the waning hopes of the Christians because of the delayed re-appearing of the Master, as Weiss asserts, the writer would have used a more definite phrase than this. The *immediately* of Matthew’s gospel had served his purpose better. The fact that *gospel*,¹ in i. 1, is used in the sense of gospel-history, argues a late period. Yet the recollection implied in the notice that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus prevents the gospel from being put too late into the second century. That it belongs to this century must be inferred, not only from the priority of Matthew and Luke, but from the fact that it was not known to Papias, and probably not much outside Rome. A passage in Clement’s epistle to the Corinthians has been thought to show acquaintance with the gospel, but this is more than doubtful.² In like manner, it is uncertain whether Hermas used it. No clear trace of it can be found before Justin Martyr, who, though acquainted with it, has no express quotation; for the one passage in which some find his use of it is taken from the ‘Memoirs’ or gospel of Peter, i.e. of which Peter was the author, not Mark’s gospel which was not referred to Peter so early.³ Yet Justin employed Mat-

¹ εὐαγγέλιον.

² Comp. xv. 2 with Mark vii. 6. See Isaiah xxix. 13.

³ *Dialog. cum Tryph.* c. 106. Compare Mark iii. 16, 17. The αὐτοῦ (ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ) refers to Peter as the author, but Otto thinks the reading corrupt. Archbishop Thomson asserts that Justin has fourteen quotations from Mark, but does not condescend to give them; most, if not all, being imaginary. See Justin’s *Dialog.* by Otto, p. 380, 3rd edition; and the Introduction to the *Speaker’s Commentary*, N. T. vol. i. p. lxi.

threw and Luke. If he did not use Mark so much, it had no particular value in his eyes, supposing him to have been acquainted with it when in Rome. Perhaps the date of 120 A.D. is as near as we can get.

It is wholly improbable that it could have been written about A.D. 70, as Weiss and Pfleiderer suppose. Since the primitive Mark was not composed till after Peter's death, there is no interval to permit the substitution of the present instead of it. Nor is it possible at that date that Paulinism could have intruded itself even into the teaching of Jesus; that tradition could have put into His mouth what He never uttered; or that Mark could have misapprehended the purport of the parables, reading into them the view of Paul, in iv. 11, etc., etc., as Pfleiderer believes. Did the evangelist work up a small Jewish Christian apocalypse, and so produce a free compilation in chapter xiii., as the same critic thinks? A procedure marked by arbitrariness and incorrectness could hardly be adopted by an evangelist at the early date of 70. It is true that Weiss would deny or explain away the assumptions of Pfleiderer; but they are not without the semblance of truth, though exaggerated. Paulinism was not so victorious over Jewish Christianity or so presumptuous in the year 70 as to make serious inroads upon the truth of the logia. The date of the gospel must be put into the second century.

If Mark's object was to supplement and establish the gospel of Paul, as Pfleiderer imagines, how comes it that he idealises and allegorises in certain parts, especially at the beginning and end of the gospel? Why does he admit the legendary element so soon after Paul's death? Did the pupil presume to allegorise what Paul taught him? The Mark-Pauline stamp of originality and unity which this critic claims for the gospel is vitiated by the admission of interpolation and idealism which he is compelled to make.¹

¹ *Urchristenthum*, p. 412, etc.

The date A.D. 70 assigned to Mark's gospel appears to us decidedly wrong. There is no probability in the assumption that any formal gospel preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. That which Papias mentions as written by Mark was not such; but simply a collection of certain incidents and sayings, without order. Individuals actuated by different motives may have gathered or got partial memoirs from oral tradition for their own use, but these were merely isolated, imperfect productions. No gospel bearing the impress of a finished whole existed before the great national catastrophe; nor is any such alluded to in Paul's epistles. Portions of Jesus's biography committed to writing for private ends cannot be called a proper gospel any more than the memoir which Mark is said to have written down from Peter's recollection; and to put the completed work about the year 70 A.D. gives a date unsupported by external or internal evidence.

The weight of ancient testimony is in favour of Rome as the place of composition. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, etc., assign it to that place; but Chrysostom to Alexandria, following the saga that the evangelist was bishop of Alexandria, and died there A.D. 61. In favour of Rome, Latinisms have been adduced,¹ and the custom of explaining Greek expressions by Roman ones. But several Latin words² appear in Matthew and Luke also. And it was natural, if the evangelist wrote at Rome, to state that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus; since one of these persons at least seems to have resided there (Rom. xvi. 13). Jerome says that the author took it with him to Alexandria and published it there.

If Rome be the place of writing, as is generally allowed, it furnishes an argument against the gospel being written first. Judea, not Rome, was the locality

¹ σπεκουλάτωρ, κεντυρίων, ξέστης, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι (satisfacere), ἐσχάτως ἔχειν (in extremis esse), συμβούλιον διδόναι (consilium dare).

² πραιτώριον, κοδράντης, δηνάριον, κῆνος, λεγεών, φραγελλώω.

in which the life of Jesus was earliest known and treasured in the disciples' memory, prior to being committed to writing. We can hardly conceive of the primitive gospel originating out of Judea. The dispersion of Jesus's followers in distant lands was a comparatively late event.

INTEGRITY.

The last twelve verses of the gospel have been thought not to belong to it. External and internal arguments are adduced in favour of this view. Let us notice them briefly.

1. The portion is wanting in B. α , k. L. stops at the eighth verse, and gives, with a few words of introduction, a shorter conclusion of the gospel; after which it proceeds with the usual one, vss. 9–20. The same shorter conclusion, given in the notes to Schulz's edition of Griesbach's first volume, occurs in 274 as a foot-note, in the margin of the later Syriac or Harclean version, in k or codex Bobbiensis of the old Latin continuously with verse 8, in some MSS. of the Æthiopic continuously with the same verse, and in the margin of an Oxford Memphitic MS. It is absent from an old Syriac version discovered in the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which some think to be the same as the Curetonian Syriac; but the latter had the usual conclusion. The scholia of many MSS. say that Mark's gospel ended with verse 9 in the *more ancient* or *more accurate* codices. Three of these, 1. 206. 209, affirm that Eusebius *canonised* up to the eighth verse, implying that his canons extended no farther. That published by Matthæi from a Moscow MS., which is abridged from another scholium in codices 237. 239. 259, where the appearances of Christ after His resurrection are recorded, Mark xvi. 14, etc., is passed over. A short anonymous argument (*ὑπόθεσις*) prefixed to the gospel in Poussin's edition of Victor's catena ignores Christ's appearances in xvi. 9–13; so that

the usual conclusion, verses 9–20, must have been wanting in the copy which was used. Epiphanius and Cæsarius, in stating the number of sections in the four gospels to be 1162, imply the omission of the usual conclusion. Dean Burgon, however, resolves Cæsarius's account into Epiphanius's.¹ The section is also absent from some old MSS. of the Armenian version; as also from an Arabic version in the Vatican which Scholz examined in a few places. Against the originality of the verses in question Jerome has been quoted; but Burgon resolves both his and other testimonies, those of Victor of Antioch, Hesychius of Jerusalem, and Severus of Antioch, into Eusebius.² This is doubtful in the case of all the writers named; though it is likely in that of Jerome, whose real opinion is difficult to be got at. But his statement that the disputed verses 'were not in almost all the MSS. of Greece' is weighty. Clement of Alexandria and Origen do not notice the verses. The same remark applies to Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Theodoret. In like manner the Latin fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian, Lucifer and Hilary, do not mention verses 9–20. If it be objected that such evidence is negative, it has still some weight, especially in the case of Cyril of Jerusalem and Cyprian.

On the other side, it is affirmed that all Greek MSS. except B. and κ have the paragraph; for example, A. C. D. E. G. H. K. L. M. S. U. V. X. *F. Δ. II.*; all evangelistaria and synaxaria. Scholia in cursive MSS. say that it was found in *many* or *very many* or *accurate* copies. Some of these declare that they had been collated with ancient copies at Jerusalem. What is meant by the Palestinian gospel of Mark in the pseudo-Victorian scholium published by Cramer it is hard to say. Was the autograph transferred to Palestine, and deposited in

¹ The last twelve verses of the gospel according to St. Mark, p. 133.

² P. 51.

its metropolis? Little weight can be attached to the statement.

The Greek patristic evidence begins with Irenæus ; Justin being a witness too doubtful to be adduced on the ground of a passage in his first 'Apology.'¹ Marinus, Eusebius's correspondent, the Apostolic Constitutions, Epiphanius, Didymus, Nestorius, the Gesta Pilati, Cæsarius, the Synopsis Scripturæ Sanctæ follow. To the Greek fathers may be added Aphraates the Persian and Jacob of Nisibis. Of Latin fathers, the testimony of Vincentius at the council of Carthage A.D. 256 is uncertain. Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome probably, and succeeding writers generally cite the verses 9-20. Among versions the paragraph is in most copies of the old Latin, as also in the Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac which begins in the middle of the 17th verse, the later Syriac, the Jerusalem Syriac, Memphitic, Gothic, Æthiopic as edited, but not in some of its ancient MSS.²

Among internal considerations, it is alleged against the passage, that there is—

1. An incongruity between the ninth verse and what precedes. The words *early on the first of the week*³ naturally belong to the participle *was risen*,⁴ since the writer in describing the appearances of Jesus has no regard to time or place (compare 12, 14, 15, 19). Thus Jesus is said to have risen *early*, although the women who visited the sepulchre *very early* learned that He had risen *before* their visit (verse 4).

Again, *first*⁵ connected with *appeared*⁶ is unsuitable, because the appearance to Mary Magdalene was not the first. It is beside the mark to say with Robin-

¹ P. 126, ed. 3, Otto.

² See Hort's note in the second volume of Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, p. 28, etc.; and Tischendorf's, in his *Greek Testament*, ed. octava major, vol. i. p. 403, etc.

³ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτῳ.

⁵ πρῶτον.

⁴ ἀναστῆς.

⁶ ἐφάνη.

son¹ that *first*² is put *relatively* not *absolutely*, the first of the three appearances narrated by Mark.

2. The phraseology and style of the section are unfavourable to its authenticity. Phrases and words are introduced which Mark never uses ; or terms for which he employs others. Thus for *πρώτη σαββάτου*, meaning the first day of the week (verse 9), *ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων* occurs in xvi. 2. The phrase, *out of whom he had cast seven devils*, is attached to the name of Mary Magdalene, though she had been mentioned three times before without such appendix, and seems to have been taken from Luke viii. 2. Instead of *ἐκβάλλειν ἀπό*, Mark uses *ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ* (vii. 26), or *ἐκβάλλειν* with the accusative. In the tenth and fourteenth verses there are sentences without a copulative ; whereas Mark has always the copulative in such cases, particularly *καὶ*. The use of *ἐκεῖνος* in verses 10, 13, 20 synonymously with *ὁ δέ* (compare Mark v. 34, 36, 40 ; vii. 27 ; xii. 14, 15, 16 ; xiv. 16), is peculiar. The verb *πορεύεσθαι* occurs three times in the section, though the evangelist never employs it elsewhere. *θεᾶσθαι* is also unknown to Mark (xvi. 11, 14). So also *ἀπιστεῖν* (xvi. 11, 16). *μετὰ ταῦτα* (12) is never employed by the evangelist. *μὲν* and *δὲ* correspond in two members of a sentence (19, 20), which is but once in the gospel (xiv. 38), where the words of another person are cited. *ὁ Κύριος*, meaning *Christ* (19, 20), is unknown to Mark ; so also are *ἕτερος* (12), *παρακολουθέω*, *βλάπτω*, *πανταχοῦ*, *ἐπακολουθέω*, *συνεργέω*, *βεβαιόω*. *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις* is Pauline ; and *κόσμον ἅπαντα* is peculiar. *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* (17), for *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι* (compare ix. 37 ; xiii. 6), deserve attention. Other peculiarities and *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* may be accounted for by the new subject, e.g. *γλώσσαις καιναῖς λαλεῖν*, *ὄφεις αἶρειν*, *θανάσιμον πίνειν*, *καλῶς ἔχειν*, *φανεροῦσθαι*, *μορφή*, *ὑστερον*. Short as the section is, it has upwards

¹ *Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek*, p. 232.

² *πρῶτον*.

of twenty phrases and words that do not occur in the gospel.

The style is abrupt and sententious, not graphic, resembling that of brief notices extracted from larger accounts and loosely combined.

3. The seventeenth and eighteenth verses contain suspicious circumstances—an excessive love of the miraculous. Miracles and the power of performing them are attributed to *all believers*. The handling of deadly serpents and the drinking of deadly poison with impunity, savour of superstition. The phrase, ‘He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved’ (16), is also of a late type.

4. A new section begins with the ninth verse, as is shown by the note of time prefixed; but a note of time had been already introduced at the second verse of the chapter. The events recorded in the ninth and subsequent verses require no new note of time.

5. It is strange that when Mark had said that Jesus should appear to the disciples in Galilee (xiv. 28 and xvi. 7), he makes no allusion to the fulfilment of the promise.

6. The ascension of the risen Jesus has no parallel in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and could scarcely appear in Mark’s (verse 19).

7. The section is like an excerpt from John, Matthew, the Acts, and the epistle to the Hebrews. The sixteenth verse was probably taken from the Acts of Pilate.¹

It is difficult to decide between the conflicting evidence. The fact that Irenæus² had the paragraph before him in his copy of the gospel, outweighs the evidence of many MSS. which omit it. Besides Irenæus’s attestation of the nineteenth verse, we have

¹ See Hindekoper’s *Indirect Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels*, pp. 90, 91, 2nd edit.

² *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 10. 6.

a still earlier one (for verses 15–19)¹ in the ‘Acts of Pilate,’ incorporated in the ‘Gospel of Nicodemus.’ But the relation of the *Acts* now known, to the early work which Justin and Tertullian had, is too uncertain to admit of an argument being built upon it. Celsus also shows acquaintance with the paragraph when he says, ‘Who saw this? A demented woman, as ye say,’—referring to Mary Magdalene, to whom Jesus first appeared, and out of whom He had cast seven demons (xvi. 9). The phraseology certainly differs from that of the rest of the gospel. But the difference may be accounted for by the use of another source, which the evangelist chose to follow here, more than Matthew or Luke—the Petrine narrative of Mark, to which Papias refers. It is difficult to believe that the writer could stop with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. No evangelist would do so; and therefore those who impugn the authenticity, have recourse to some sudden accident which prevented the evangelist from finishing properly. A reason why the paragraph was omitted in many copies, is hinted at by Jerome,² Eusebius,³ and others. Exegetical reasons may have led to it, since the difficulty of reconciling xvi. 9 with Matt. xxviii. 1 was palpable. The time in the second verse does not suit that of the ninth; nor do the seventeenth and eighteenth verses agree with Matt. xxviii. 16–20. Such difficulties may have occasioned its exclusion from many copies, especially Greek ones. That so many authorities, including copies of the old Latin and the Vulgate, have it, is good evidence in its favour. The very difficulties inherent in it did not cause its exclusion. If Eusebius and

¹ See Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 243.

² ‘Omnibus Græciæ libris pæne hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus, præsertim cum diversa atque contraria evangelistis cæteris narrare videatur.’—*Ad Hedibiam*, Quæst. ii.

³ τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς (the verses in question) σπανίως ἐν τισιν ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι φερόμενα περιττὰ ἂν εἴη, καὶ μάλιστα εἴπερ ἔχοιεν ἀντιλογίαν τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν μαρτυρίᾳ.—Quæst. i. *Ad Marinum*.

Jerome believed that it was spurious, why did they resort to another method of solving the difficulties arising from the time of the resurrection specified there? Besides saying that it was absent from some or many copies, both give an additional solution, consisting in an alteration of the punctuation. One is sufficient, viz. that the paragraph is no part of the gospel. By resting in this, they would have saved themselves trouble and shown their real conviction. Dean Burgon supplies a reason for the omission of the paragraph from many copies, which is at least ingenious. Some very ancient copyist seeing *τέλος* written after the eighth verse, assumed that it denoted *the end* of the gospel; whereas it was only a liturgical sign, marking the end of an ecclesiastical lesson. According to this conjecture, the omission was caused by the error and misconception of a solitary scribe. It is remarked in addition, that Mark's gospel was usually the last of the four in the West; so it might easily happen that the last leaf of a MS. was missing with these verses written upon it. These conjectures are improbable. They may account for the omission in a few copies; but to hold that the inadvertence of one scribe, or the torn away leaf of a MS., led so many astray, copyists and fathers, cannot be accepted. The cause is too small to explain so great a result. The argument is also refuted by 22, which has a *τέλος* at the end of verse 8, and another at verse 20, implying that in some copies the gospel terminated at the 8th, in others at the 20th verse. The word is a notation mark presupposing the existence of copies which ended the gospel at verse 8. In process of time this ancient notation was confounded with the liturgical one. The double ending is inconsistent with Burgon's conjecture; especially as none of the other gospels is marked with a *τέλος* in any scholium. On the whole, the evidence is against the authenticity of the paragraph. This is true of the external and internal, con-

sidered separately as well as conjointly. The external, consisting of the oldest and best MSS., α and B., with the stopping of Eusebius's canons at xvi. 8, and his statement that it is not 'in the accurate copies,' only 'in some,' 'not in all,' outweighs a mass of later evidence.¹ And though Jerome copied, or even translated Eusebius, it can scarcely be thought that he would have done so ignorantly, without any knowledge of the facts themselves. Did the monk of Bethlehem know nothing of 'the true Palestinian exemplar,' of which scholia speak, when he repeats Eusebius's assertion about the absence of the paragraph from almost all the Greek codices? As to the *internal evidence*, it outweighs that in favour of Mark's authorship. But when we consider that the gospel was not written till the second century, internal evidence loses some of its force against the authenticity. We are disposed to believe that the verses in question formed no part of the original gospel, notwithstanding Burgon's confident assertion that they were 'wrought in the same heavenly loom' with the rest. Through some unknown circumstance, the writer stopped without concluding his work, and another appended the paragraph in the second century. The shorter conclusion was not taken from the longer, but was someone's independent addition in the same century.

How persons who believe that the verses did not form a part of the original gospel of Mark, can say that they have a good claim to be received as a genuine part of the second gospel or of canonical scripture, passes comprehension. If an unknown writer appended to the gospel a section containing difficulties which make its agreement with the evangelist's own statements all but impossible, how can he have been *plenarily inspired*? Does the fact of his adding a portion to a

¹ 'Questiones ad Marinum,' in Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vol. iv. p. 255, etc.

gospel show his possession of the gift? It does not depend on the author's being known, that what he composes should be a proper part of the word of God. So some affirm. On what then *does* it depend? On the inspiration of the writer? How is the inspiration of the writer shown? Only by what he writes. In the present case, the later author, as some believe, must have been inspired. Is that proved by the character of this portion? Is it proved by the fact, that whereas an inspired evangelist wrote i.—xvi. 8, this other wrote a few verses at the end in an inferior style? Every view of the case shows the absurdity of maintaining that the verses before us are an authentic part of the gospel, equally authoritative with the rest of it, though they proceeded from a different author.

PERSONS FOR WHOM THE EVANGELIST WROTE, AND HIS
OBJECT IN COMPILING A GOSPEL.

The work is the production of a Jewish Christian, and was intended for Gentile believers. Hence localities in Palestine, with Jewish usages and rights, are explained. Thus in i. 5: 'And there went out unto him all the land of Judea and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in *the river of* Jordan, confessing their sins;' for which the first gospel has, 'and were baptized of him *in Jordan*, confessing their sins' (iii. 6).

'*And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast*; and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast?' (ii. 18). The explanatory clause at the commencement is not in Matthew.

'For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders' (vii. 3). Compare this with Matthew's words, 'Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition

of the elders ? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread ' (xv. 2).

'Then come unto him the Sadducees, *which say there is no resurrection*; and they asked him, saying,' etc. (xii. 18).

'And the first day of unleavened bread, *when they killed the passover*, his disciples,' etc. (xiv. 12).

'Now at that feast he released unto them one prisoner, whomsoever they desired ' (xv. 6).

No passages are quoted to show the fulfilment of prophecy, unless they are unavoidably introduced into the discourses of Jesus. Hence *the law* does not occur.

In the charge to the disciples the words, 'Go not into the way of the Gentiles' (Matt. x. 5, 6), are omitted. In accordance with this view, explanations of words which would otherwise be unintelligible to Gentiles are given, as *Talitha cumi*, *Boanerges*, *Corban*, *Bartimeus*, *Gehenna* (ix. 43).

Thus it appears that Gentiles were the readers for whom the gospel was written.

The object of the evangelist seems to have been conciliatory. He meant to instruct Gentile converts in the leading facts of Jesus's life on earth by giving, as far as possible, such a selection as might be acceptable, avoiding doctrinal or controversial ground. Hence it has neither the narrow Jewish elements to be found in the gospel of Matthew, nor the specific Pauline elements of Luke's. The christology, indeed, has a tendency towards docetism, but not a decided one. Epiphanius says that the Docetæ preferred the second gospel to the rest.¹ Credner has put the Clementine Homilies by the side of Mark;² for although they never quote it, they presuppose its existence. Of the three places he specifies, one at least, Hom. iii. 57, is from Mark xii. 29.

¹ *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 11 7.

² *Beiträge*, vol. i. p. 300.

STYLE AND DICTION.

The style is forcible and concise.

1. Πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον occurs eleven times; Luke uses it six times and Matthew twice. The last prefers phrases with δαιμονιζόμενος.

2. Diminutives are frequent, as θυγάτριον, κοράσιον, κυνάριον, ὠτάριον, πλοιάριον, παιδίον, ἰχθύδιον.

3. Συμβούλιον ποιεῖν, iii. 6; xv. 1. Matthew has συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν.

4. Ἐπερωτᾶν occurs twenty-five times; Matthew has it eight times, and Luke eighteen.

5. Διαστελλέσθαι five times; only once in Matthew.

6. Εἰσπορεύεσθαι eight times; Luke has it four times, and Matthew once.

7. Ἐκπορεύεσθαι eleven times; Matthew has it six times, and Luke three.

8. Παραπορεύεσθαι four times; Matthew once.

9. Εὐαγγέλιον occurs eight times; in Matthew four times.

10. Περιβλέπεσθαι six times; once in Luke.

11. Πρωΐ six times; twice in Matthew.

12. Φέρειν fourteen times; in Matthew and Luke four times each.

13. Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, referring to the future resurrection of Christ (viii. 31; x. 34); Matthew has it but once. He and Luke use instead τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

14. Βλέπετε ἀπὸ viii. 15; xii. 38; Matthew and Luke have instead προσέχετε ἀπό.

15. Ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ is the prevailing usage of Mark. Only in two places has he ἀπό, the latter preposition being the most frequent one in Matthew, and perpetual in Luke, with two exceptions (ii. 1; vi. 19).

16. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης vi. 14; Matthew and Luke have Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης.

17. Mark accumulates negatives, as οὐδεῖς, twice,

xvi. 8; οὐκέτι οὐ μή xiv. 25; μηδενὶ μηδέν i. 44; οὐκ οὐδείς iii. 27; v. 37; vi. 5; xii. 14; xiv. 60, 61; xv. 4; μηκέτι μηδέ ii. 2; οὐκέτι οὐδείς v. 3; vii. 12; ix. 8; μηκέτι μηδεῖς xi. 14; μὴ μηδέ iii. 20.

18. He uses synonymous or tautological expressions, as in i. 42; ii. 19, 25; iii. 7, 8; iv. 6, 30, 39, 40; v. 12, 19, 23, 33; vi. 55, 56, etc. etc.

19. Mark strengthens expressions by appending their opposites, as in ii. 27; iii. 26, 29, etc. etc.

20. Pleonastic explanations or turns of expression are frequent, including the union of a compound verb with a simple one: i. 29; vi. 1; xiv. 16, 45; or two compounds from the same stem: i. 35; ii. 15; vi. 33; ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐξ i. 25, 26 and ἔξω xiv. 68; ἐξήγαγεν ἔξω viii. 23; ἐκπορεύειν ἔξω xi. 19; τότε ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ ii. 20, etc.; οὗτος οὕτως ii. 7; οἶα τοιαύτη xiii. 19; ἥς αὐτῆς vii. 25; ἐκ παιδιόθεν ix. 21; ἀπὸ μακρόθεν v. 6, viii. 3, etc.

21. In transitions εὐθέως is often employed, or εὐθύς which Tischendorf substitutes for it in many cases, i. 18, 21, 31, etc. Luke has the word but eight times and sometimes employs παραχρήμα instead.

22. The sentences are loosely connected by καὶ or πάλιν, as καὶ ἔλεγεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ εἰσῆλθε πάλιν, κ.τ.λ.

23. Mark interchanges the descriptive imperfect of narrative style for the historical present. The other evangelists use the aorist instead or ἰδοὺ *behold*, i. 12, 40; ii. 3, 5, etc.

24. The following are peculiar to Mark among the synoptists: ἀββᾶ, ἀγρεύειν, ἀκάνθινος, ἀλαλάζειν, ἄλαλος, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀμάρτημα, ἀμφιβάλλειν, ἄμφοδος, ἀναθεματίζειν, ἄναλος, ἀναπηδᾶν, ἀναστενάζειν, ἀποβάλλειν, ἀπόδημος, ἀποπλανᾶν, ἀποστηγάζειν, ἀσφαλῶς, ἀτιμούν, αὐτόματος, ἀφρίζειν, ἀφροσύνη, βαπτισμός, βοανεργής, γναφεύς, δαμάζειν, διαγίνεσθαι, διασπᾶν, λέγειν ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ, δύσκολος, δωρεῖσθαι, εἰ in swearing, ἐκθαμ-

βεῖσθαι, ἐκπερισσῶς, ἔκφοβος, ἐλαύνειν, Ἑλληνίς, Ἑλωῖ, ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι, ἐνειλεῖν, ἔννυχον, ἐνταφιασμός, ἐξάπινα, ἐξαυτῆς, ἐξορύττειν, ἐξουδενεῖν, ἐξουδενοῦν, ἐπιβάλλειν neuter, ἐπιλύειν, ἐπιρράπτειν, ἐπισυντρέχειν, ἐσχάτως, εὐκαιρος, εὐκαίρως, εὐσχήμων, ἐφφαθά, ἡδέως, ἡφιεῖν (i. 34), θαμβεῖν, θαυμάζειν διά, θερμαίνεσθαι, θυγάτριον, θυρωρός, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, κακεῖθεν, κακολογεῖν, κατάβα, καταβαρύνειν (?), καταδιώκειν, κατακόπτειν, κατατιθέναι, κατευλογεῖν (?), κατοίκησις, κεντυρίων, κεφαλαιοῦν, κοῦμι, κράββατος, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, κυλίεσθαι, κύπτειν, κωμό-πολις, λευκαίνειν, μᾶλλον before a comparative, μεθόρια (?), μελετᾶν, μεγιστᾶνες, μηχανεῖν, μισθωτός, μογιᾶλος, μορφή, μυρίζειν, νάρδος, νουνεχῶς, ξέστης, ἐξηραμμένος, ὁδοποιεῖν, ὀλοκαύτωμα, ὅσπερ, ὅστις interrogative, ix. 11 (?), οὐά, ὄψιος an adjective, παιδιόθεν, πάμπολυς (?), πανταχόθεν, παραβάλλειν, παραδιδόναι neuter, παρόμοιος, περιτρέχειν, πιστικός, πλοιάριον, πρασιά, προαῦλιον, προ-λαμβάνειν, προμεριμνᾶν, προσάββατον (?), προσεγγί-ζειν (?), πρησκαρτερεῖν, προσκεφάλαιον, προσορμίζεσθαι, προσπορεύεσθαι, προστρέχειν, πρύμνα, πτύειν, πυγμῇ, ῥαββουνί, ῥάπισμα, σκώληξ, σμυρνίζειν, σπᾶσθαι, σπε-κουλάτωρ, στασιαστής, στιβάς, στίλβειν, συγκαθῆσθαι, συλλυπεῖσθαι, συμπόσιον, συναναβαίνειν, συνθλίβειν, Συροφοινίκισσα, σύσσημον, συστασιαστής, ταλιθά, τα-ραχή, τηλανγῶς, τρίζειν, τρυμαλιά (?), ὑπερηφανία, ὑπερ-περισσῶς, ὑπολήνιον, ὑστέρησις, χαλκίον, ὥρα meaning hour of the day, ὠτάριον.¹

On the whole, the diction of Mark possesses a more Aramaic colouring than Luke's, and approaches nearer that of Matthew; for, while he has forty-five words in common with the latter, he has only eighteen with the former.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

i. 2, 3 . . .	Malachi iii. 1; Is. xl. 3.	iv. 12 . . .	Isaiah vi. 9.
ii. 25, 26 . . .	1 Sam. xxi. 6.	vii. 6, 7 . . .	Isaiah xxix. 13.

¹ See Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher*, vol. ii. p. 448 et seq.

vii. 10 . . .	Ex. xx. 12; xxi. 17.	xii. 10, 11 . . .	Psalm cxviii. 22, 23.
ix. 44 . . .	Isaiah lxvi. 24.	xii. 19 . . .	Deut. xxv. 5.
x. 6 . . .	Genesis i. 27.	xii. 26 . . .	Exodus iii. 6.
x. 7, 8 . . .	Genesis ii. 24.	xii. 29, 30 . . .	Deut. vi. 4.
x. 19 . . .	Exodus xx. 12-15.	xii. 31 . . .	Levit. xix. 18.
xi. 9 . . .	Psalm cxviii. 25, 26	xii. 36 . . .	Psalm cx. 1.
xi. 17 . . .	Isaiah lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.	xiii. 14 . . .	Daniel ix. 27.
		xiv. 27 . . .	Zechariah xiii. 7.

General references are in the following :—

i. 44 . . .	Levit. xiv. 2.	xiv. 62 . . .	Daniel vii. 13.
x. 4 . . .	Deut. xxiv. 1.	xv. 34 . . .	Psalm xxii. 1.
xiii. 24 . . .	Isaiah xiii. 10.		

Seventeen of these quotations are common to Matthew and Mark, ten of them agreeing verbally. Four differ but little, viz. Mark vii. 10=Matthew xv. 4; Mark x. 7, 8=Matthew xix. 5; Mark xii. 29, 30=Matthew xxii. 37; Mark xv. 34=Matthew xxvii. 46. Three differ considerably: Mark iv. 12=Matthew xiii. 14, 15; Mark x. 19=Matthew xix. 18, 19; Mark xii. 19=Matthew xxii. 24. The evangelist's citations are all context ones, to speak after the rule of Bleek; i.e. they are not made by himself, but form portions of his narrative, and occur either in Christ's words or the words of persons addressing Him. They are therefore from the LXX. Chapter i. 2 is from the Hebrew, which corresponds to Bleek's canon. But i. 3 is from the Greek, which is against it. There is a difficulty in the quotation or quotations in i. 2, 3, which prevents the critic from speaking confidently, because the one is from Mal. iii. 1, though introduced by 'written in Isaiah the prophet;' the other from Isaiah xl. 3. But the former citation is also in Matthew xi. 10 and Luke vii. 27, whence Mark may have taken it, inserting 'the prophet Isaiah' by mistake. As to the interpretation, we do not approve of Lachmann's long parenthesis from *as it is written to his paths* inclusive, because it is awkward to say that 'John was the beginning of the gospel.' The first verse is an independent sentence, meaning 'the beginning of the gospel history of Jesus Christ.'

It will be observed that we have attributed an aim to each of the synoptists: to Matthew the promotion of Jewish Christianity, to Luke the furtherance of Paulinism, and to Mark one neutral and conciliatory. As the object of all was more didactic than biographical, some purpose was uppermost in their thoughts. In other words, they were chiefly guided by a tendency. We admit that it is not always prominent or permeating in the gospels, because of the redactions through which they passed; but it is seen notwithstanding. If the materials of which the canonical documents are composed had not been dominated by a leading motive, the authors or compilers must have proceeded at random; which were to throw discredit on their work. During the time of Christianity's development there were conflicting ideas among its recipients. Petrines and Paulines, long antagonistic, began to approach one another: the former seeing that Judaism reformed might meet the needs of a religion of humanity; the latter holding forth the new kingdom founded upon the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of men. A religion with less prominence of its exclusive and formal side might thus be combined with a spiritual and universal one, especially as the latter retained atonement by blood. It was in the midst of such incipient conciliation that the gospels took their rise. Meantime the traditions of Jesus's person and life had been encrusted with legends, myths, and miracles; and if the synoptics grew up amid these elements they must have been affected by them. As the redactors were men of the time, the time shaped their work. The views of their age and nationality had their part in the metamorphosis or conservation of primitive Christianity, giving the early traditions, written and unwritten, a bias, sanctioning certain aspects of the person and teachings of Jesus, and helping to fix current conceptions in a definite channel. Without controverting tradition, the writers employed it as a medium for

the furtherance of their ideas. To say that they merely dealt with facts, never modifying them in the interests of special views, is to contradict the clearest evidence. Not only did they group facts and give prominence to incidents, but they used them with a bias. Weiss himself allows that the evangelists freely remodelled the words of Jesus; that the later corrected the description of his predecessor, and that the old tradition was changed in various ways; but he takes refuge in didactic or other purposes to explain these phenomena. The concessions to *tendency* which he and others of his school make, such as enlargement of the sources from which the evangelists drew, pointing of them, interference with their true meaning, grouping of materials, points of view from which they are surveyed, disregard of chronological sequence, pragmatic reflection; what are these but approaches to the assumption of a *leading motive* influencing the adoption and character of the materials throughout; though the motive should not be made so exclusive as to annihilate or pervert the idea of biography? Is it likely that the authors were indifferent to the vital questions which agitated primitive Christianity; or were the redactors untouched by the prevailing currents of the new religion? It has been believed, indeed, that they were under the uniform impulse of the Holy Spirit, which, suppressing their individual culture and tendencies, made them independent of race and age; but the assumption is irrational.

These observations imply that the complete authenticity of the synoptic narratives, and of the recorded sayings of Jesus in particular, cannot be maintained. Criticism must assert that Ebionite or primitive Christianity receded before the Gentile type introduced by Paulinism; and that the earliest oral tradition had varieties. What was spoken by Jesus and His first disciples in Aramæan being transferred to Greek and propagated in Greek-speaking circles, could not escape

alteration. The changing process beginning among ear-witnesses was conditioned by their recollections as well as their ideas; and it is natural to suppose that their successors, the evangelists, proceeded freely in the same way. In both circles, the one following the precedent of the other, tradition was moulded. The characteristic differences of the evangelical records arose, in part at least, from doctrinal rather than literary motives. Under the influence of biographical composition, the standpoint of the writers and first readers gave shape to the documents. It is contrary to the genius of these documents to describe them, with Dr. Salmon, as ‘artless narratives of such deeds and words of Jesus as had most fastened themselves on His disciples’ recollection.’¹

The tendency theory has been discredited because it has been made a rigidly comprehensive purpose on the part of the writers—as, for example, by Holsten,² with whom Matthew’s is the Petrine gospel, Mark’s the Pauline counterpart, Luke’s the intermediate. The evangelists did not write with such decided aims, nor with strong ideas of transforming the original character of the materials before them. As they had still regard to probability, the tendency assigned to them must be kept within proper limits. But that it influenced the shaping of the gospels is undeniable. Mental idiosyncrasy, lineage, education, time, locality combined in each case to create a leading object which the writers followed out with considerable freedom, though not with the critical sense of modern historians.

It will be gathered from these remarks that much importance attaches to the way in which *tendency* is viewed. It should not be so held or pressed as to exclude the record of all true events and genuine discourses, or to vitiate their nature essentially. In this

¹ Historical Introduction to the N. T., p. 359.

² *Die drei ursprüngliche, noch ungeschriebenen Evang.* 1883; *Die synoptische Evangelien*, 1886.

matter, not only rationalistic critics are blamable, but also their orthodox opponents. *The extent* to which tendency has shaped the gospels is indeed difficult of perception, and should be cautiously arrived at ; but it undoubtedly exists. Let it not be pushed so far as to abolish whatever is authentic and trustworthy.

We have assigned all the gospels *in their present state* to the early part of the second century. It is a fallacious argument that the variety of readings in their text shows that they had been often transcribed and were therefore earlier. The various readings in question belong to the materials, oral and written, of which the present gospels were composed, and prove nothing about the latter's frequent transcription in the first century. They originated during the processes of the gospels' formation ; and though older than the second century, do not establish the early date of the canonical documents.

A division of the particular contents of each synoptic into the special sources from which they were drawn, assumptions as to where the compilers left their sources and why, the alleged motives that led to the individual treatment which the written or oral record at its basis has received, assignment of failure or success in fitting each piece into the connection which it stands in ; such procedure, though largely conjectural, has been meted out to the evangelists with misplaced confidence by Weiss. To carry a process of this microscopic anatomy through every part of each synoptic may foster fancied acuteness, but when carried out it is apt to become a specimen of artificial criticism or of exaggerated tendency.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

NOTICES OF THE ALLEGED AUTHOR.

ON the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, at Capernaum, lived Andrew and Simon, fishermen, the sons of one Jonas. The former had been attracted by the preaching of John the Baptist, and brought his brother to Jesus, who gave him the name Cephas or Peter, i.e. a rock.

During the life and ministry of the Master, Peter occupied the most prominent position among the apostles and was honoured with many marks of his confidence. After the ascension, he is again the most conspicuous of the brethren. When the church at Jerusalem was scattered by persecution, he was sent with John to Samaria. But the metropolis was his usual place of abode. Having been delivered from prison, he probably left the city (Acts xii. 1-17); and it is not known whither he went, to Cæsarea, Antioch, or Arabia. Wherever he was, there is little doubt of his preaching to the Jews. Subsequently we find him again in Jerusalem at the so-called council (Acts xv.), after which he visited Antioch, where he gave offence by refusing to eat with converted Gentiles and was openly rebuked by Paul. This is his last appearance in sacred history.

It is clear that he was married (Luke iv. 38); and his house is mentioned in Matthew's gospel (viii. 14). Some suppose the Marcus of the first epistle to have

been his son; it is more probable that he was his *spiritual* son and identical with Mark the evangelist.

Ancient witnesses state that he visited Asia Minor, Corinth, and Rome. Origen and Eusebius refer to his activity in Asia Minor; obviously by inference from 1 Peter i. 1. When Epiphanius and Jerome speak of him there with a degree of confidence as if it were historically certain, little value belongs to their statement. Dionysius says that Peter was at Corinth; but though the witness was himself bishop of the place about A.D. 170, it is probable that the opinion was founded upon 1 Cor. i. 12. More importance attaches to a tradition relating to his presence at Rome.

The question as to Peter's presence in Rome cannot be settled on the sole ground of evidence supplied by the fathers, because that evidence is mixed with apocryphal matter.

Two legends were current in the second century, an Ebionite and a Catholic one. The former represents a conflict of Peter with the magician Simon who having been pursued from place to place, was finally brought to the world's metropolis to be completely overthrown by the prince of the apostles. Here Paul is presented under the mask of Simon, so that two apostles are in direct conflict. The Catholic legend describes Peter and Paul working peaceably together in Rome, and suffering martyrdom under Nero. Whether these legends arose independently, or one was a revised form of the other, and which was the earlier, has been much disputed.

Clement's epistle to the Corinthians speaks of Paul's martyrdom at Rome, without saying that Peter was there, or that he suffered martyrdom.¹ The omission is significant, because it is likely that the Roman church would have mentioned the martyr-death of Peter, as well as that of Paul, had it been true.

¹ Chapter v.

The Petro-Simon legend may have existed as early as the first epistle of Peter, because the sacred writer dates from Babylon, the mystical name of Rome which the city received from the Apocalyptic writer. It may be doubted, however, whether the mystic title is a proof that Peter's presence in Rome was commonly accepted when the epistle appeared, i.e. in the time of Trajan. Or if the Petro-Simon legend was then current in Christian circles, as Lipsius infers from the 'Acts of Peter' (a production which has it), we are merely shut up to the conclusion that the author of the epistle adopted that part of the legend which related to Peter, omitting the Simon portion. If he was acquainted with the legend he could hardly have used the whole, because of its antagonism to the apostle Paul. Papias's testimony is irrelevant, because in speaking of Mark's gospel he says nothing of Peter being in Rome. In like manner the statements of Eusebius about Clement of Alexandria's Hypotyposes do not mention Rome in connection with Peter's reminiscences supplied to Mark.¹

Would not the author of the Acts of the Apostles have mentioned Peter's visit to Rome had it taken place before he wrote? He brings the apostle into prominence in the first part of the history; he even makes him inaugurate the Gentile mission, so that it would have been in keeping with his purpose to have elevated him as a champion of the faith; yet he is silent about any abode in Rome. There is no proper place for the hypothesis of Peter's going to the metropolis, either before Paul's arrival there or immediately after his martyrdom. Nor is there any mention in the circle of Pauline believers during the latter half of the first century and the first decade of the second of Peter's friendly co-operation with Paul in the city of Rome. Peter's presence there is admitted by the author

¹ Comp. Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 15, iii. 39.

of 1 Peter, that is all; the source of his knowledge being probably 'the Acts of Peter.'

The Catholic legend was the commonly accepted one after the middle of the second century. It is in the 'Kerygma of Peter,' the 'Preaching of Peter,' sometimes called the 'Preaching of Paul'—a work mentioned by Origen, and supposed by Clement of Alexandria to have been Peter's authentic production.¹ It is also in the 'Acts of Peter and Paul,' which cannot be dated before 160 A.D. These were based on the Ebionite legend in prior documents. And if the Petro-Pauline legend be carried up to a date at the beginning of the second century, we have still to ask for its historic basis. When did the two apostles work together in Rome? No evidence can be given for the priority of the Catholic to the Ebionite legend. Should its origin be even carried up to the end of the first century, we can with better reason trace the Simon legend earlier. It is a mere assumption that they arose independently. A conciliatory tendency implies a previous antagonism of the Petrines and Paulines, caused in a great measure by the advance of Gnosticism.

There is a difficulty in dealing with the apocryphal productions which enter largely into the present question, the 'Kerygma of Peter,' the 'Acts of Peter,' the 'Acts of Peter and Paul,' and the entire Pseudo-Clementine literature. It arises from our inability to trace them to their originals in order to discover the alterations they underwent; and to fix the dates of the originals. Another difficulty arises from the fact that some of the fathers speak of Peter's work in Rome, but are silent regarding his conflict with Simon Magus in that city.

Among the fathers, the oldest witness for the Petro-Pauline legend is Dionysius of Corinth, who

¹ See Orig. in *Joann. T.* xx. 12 (*Opp.* iv. 332), ed. de la Rue; *De Princip.* i. 2, 3 (*Opp.* i. 54).

says that the two apostles planted the church at Corinth, and suffered martyrdom in Italy about the same time. Irenæus also refers to their founding the Roman church. Clement of Alexandria alludes to Peter's preaching in Rome. Tertullian, Origen, Caius, and the author of the Muratorian canon, were cognisant of the same tradition. The fathers generally had no interest in the Simon legend, if they were acquainted with it. The Catholic one, which suited their idea of a catholic church by tracing its doctrine up to the apostles, was their chief concern.

This testimony of the fathers, when examined, is seen to be of little value. Dionysius's statement about the two apostles planting the church at Corinth is plainly false. Caius's appeal to their *trophies* (τρόπαια),¹ which Eusebius took for 'graves,' is worthless. Tertullian's testimony is of no value, because, when speaking of Peter's martyrdom at Rome, he states that John came out of a caldron of burning oil unhurt.² Justin Martyr makes Simon Magus receive divine honours in Rome, where a statue with a Latin inscription was erected to him.³

We admit that the early Clementine literature is without the Simon Magus part of the legend in which that heretic is followed to Rome by Peter. The Homilies and Recognitions stop with Antioch, though they express Simon's purpose to go to Rome; and Peter's to follow him thither implies its execution. It is also true that Peter's presence in Rome is mentioned in Clement's epistle to James, at the beginning of the Homilies, without allusion to Simon-Paul; this letter belonging to the later Clementine literature. And we allow that Dionysius of Corinth speaks

¹ Ap. Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 25.

² *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 36.

³ He read *Semoni sango* or *sanco*, *Simoni saneto*; whereas *Semo sancus* or *sangus* was a Sabine deity. A pillar with the inscription in question was dug up in 1574.

of Peter at Rome without saying aught of Simon Magus.

The varying dates of Peter's alleged abode in Rome favour the opinion that it is unhistorical. Justin brings Simon to Rome under Claudius, and Irenæus agrees; the Clementines assume Peter's arrival to have been under Tiberius; while the Catholic legend places his visit in Nero's reign. So too the 'Acts of Peter and Paul.' Eusebius in his *Chronicon* makes the arrival in Rome under Caius, A.D. 39; but in his *History* he brings him thither in the time of Claudius, A.D. 42. The apostle's bishopric is given as lasting twenty-five years. The Claudian arrival seems to have been the oldest; that under Nero to have originated in a combining process. But if Peter came to the city under Caius or Claudius, why is the first century entirely silent as to the fact? And why does Paul not mention him in any letter written during his Roman captivity?

Authentic history supplies no foundation for either legend. The Ebionite legend probably originated among the Jewish Christians in Rome. It was the earlier, but was soon supplanted by the Catholic one, out of which was dropped all mention of the Magus conflict, because it did not suit the catholicising of the church. The documents in which the Petro-Simon legend was contained were worked over, and the two apostles once in conflict were co-ordinated in their preaching and their death.¹ The question has been discussed by Baur, Zeller, and Lipsius on the one side; by Hilgenfeld and Delitzsch on the other. Lipsius may be said to have finally settled it.

¹ See Baur's *Paulus*, p. 671, etc., 'Anhang;' Zeller's 'Die Sage von Petrus,' in his *Vorträge und Abhandlungen*, zweite Sammlung, p. 215, etc.; Lipsius's *Die Quellen der Römischen Petrussage*, and his article in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1876, p. 561, etc. On the other side are Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung ins N. T.* p. 620, etc.; Delitzsch, *Stud. und Krit.* 1874, p. 213, etc.; Mangold in Bleek's *Einleit.* 3rd ed. p. 653, etc.

After Peter had been brought to Rome, his martyrdom naturally followed. Paul laid down his life for the gospel; Peter must do the same. The death of the latter is embellished with the peculiar feature that he was crucified with his head downward, at his own request, not thinking himself worthy to suffer in the same posture with his Master. The growth of tradition is illustrated by the fact, that the deaths of Paul and Peter are said to have taken place on the same day, and in the same year; though the earliest writers merely say that they suffered *about the same time*. Jerome states that they were executed on the same day; and though Augustine places a year between them, holding that they died on the same day of the month only, it came to be universally believed, after Pope Gelasius's time, that they suffered on the same day (June 29), in the same year. It was the interest of the Jewish Christians to put their leader by the side of Paul in preaching and suffering death. It was the interest of the Church at Rome in its increasing ascendancy to exalt Peter to its headship. This appears in the appendix to John's gospel, where the apostle is personally entrusted with the care of Christ's sheep (John xxi. 15-17), at a time when the title of Roman bishop carried authority, and not long before Irenæus could give a continuous list of the bishops after Peter.

The basis of the tradition that Peter was at Rome is weak. His presence there, instead of being a well-attested fact, as Schott¹ and others of his class confidently affirm, cannot be sustained. It accords indeed with the Petrine Christianity of the first congregation in the city; it is in harmony with the presumptions of the Jewish Christians; but these things are not bound up with the apostle's actual presence in the city.

¹ See *Der erste Brief des Petrus*, p. 348.

AUTHENTICITY.

An early testimony to the epistle's existence is the second of Peter (iii. 1). Zahn supposes that Hermas was acquainted with the letter; but this is doubtful. Basilides knew it, as we infer from a fragment found in Clement of Alexandria.¹

The Pseudo-Polycarp knew and used it, as Eusebius relates,² and on comparing his epistle to the Philippians with ours, the allusions are more or less apparent. Thus in the 1st chapter: 'In whom, though ye see him not, ye believe, and believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory' (1 Peter i. 8).³ Compare also chap. ii. with 1 Peter i. 13, 21; iii. 9; chap. v. with 1 Peter ii. 11; chap. vii. with iv. 7; chap. viii. with ii. 22-24; chap. x. with ii. 12.

Eusebius says that Papias knew the epistle.⁴

Irenæus expressly quotes it. 'And Peter says in his epistle: "Whom not seeing ye love; in whom, not seeing him now, ye have believed; ye will rejoice with unspeakable joy"' (1 Peter i. 8).⁵ Elsewhere he writes: 'And on this account Peter says, that we have not freedom as a cloak of maliciousness, but for the trial and manifestation of faith' (1 Peter ii. 16).⁶

Clement of Alexandria quotes it: 'And Peter in the epistle says the same.'⁷ There are other allusions in this writer.

¹ See *Strom.* iv. 12, 88; with which compare 1 Peter iv. 14-16.

² *H. E.* iv. 14.

³ εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε, πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιάσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκκλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ *H. E.* iii. 39.

⁵ 'Et Petrus ait in epistola sua: "Quem non videntes diligitis," inquit, "in quem nunc non videntes credidistis, gaudebitis gaudio inenarrabili."' —*Adv. Hæres.* iv. 9. 2, p. 998, ed. Migne.

⁶ 'Et propter hoc Petrus ait, "Non velamentum malitiæ habere nos libertatem, sed ad probationem et manifestationem fidei."' —*Ibid.* iv. 16. 5, p. 1019, ed. Migne.

⁷ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει.—*Stromata*, iii. p. 562, ed. Potter.

In like manner Tertullian refers to our epistle: 'Peter says to the people of Pontus, "How great glory is it, if when ye are punished not for your faults, ye take it patiently! For this is acceptable, and even hereunto ye were called,"' etc. (1 Peter ii. 20, 21).¹ Again: 'Peter had said that the king should be honoured' (ii. 13).²

According to Eusebius, Origen called it 'an acknowledged epistle.'³ The latter quotes it often. Thus on Psalm iii.: 'As Peter says in his catholic epistle, "Whereby he went and preached,"' etc. (1 Peter iii. 19).⁴ Again: 'And concerning the journey in spirit to prison in Peter's catholic epistle, "Being put to death," says he, "in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit."' ⁵ Mayerhoff gives other passages in which Origen quotes the epistle. Eusebius puts it among the 'acknowledged' epistles; and it was in the Peshito or old Syriac version as well as in the old Latin. According to Tjeenk-Willink, Justin Martyr used the epistle, but this is not certain.

The letter of the church at Vienne and Lyons uses its language, but does not mention the writer: 'They humbled themselves under the mighty hand by which they are now highly exalted' (1 Peter v. 6).⁶ The epistle to Diognetus applies the phrase to God, that He gave 'the just for the unjust' (1 Peter iii. 18).⁷

On the other hand, it is absent from the Muratorian

¹ 'Petrus quidem ad Ponticos: Quanta enim, inquit, gloria, si non ut delinquentes puniamini, sustinetis! Hæc enim gratia est, in hoc et vocati estis,' etc.—*Scorpiac.* c. xii.

² 'Condixerat scilicet Petrus, regem quidem honorandum.'—*Ibid.* c. 14.

³ ἐπιστολὴ ὁμολογουμένη.—*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25.

⁴ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ· ἐν ᾧ δὲ τοῖς, κ.τ.λ.—*Opp.* vol. ii. p. 553, ed. Benedict.

⁵ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν φυλακῇ πορείας μετὰ πνεύματος παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ· Θανατωθεὶς γάρ, φησί, ζωοποιηθεὶς, κ.τ.λ.—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 135.

⁶ ἐταπείνουν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα, ὑφ' ἧς ἱκανῶς νῦν εἰσιν ὑψωμένοι.—*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* v. 6.

⁷ Bunsen's *Analecta ante-Nicæna*, vol. i. p. 116.

canon, a fact which some critics have tried to supplement or explain away by altering the existing text more or less arbitrarily. It was rejected by the Paulicians, according to Petrus Siculus: 'They do not admit the two catholic epistles of Peter chief of the apostles, being ill-affected towards him.'¹

According to Leontius of Byzantium, Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected the epistle.²

It was also rejected, with the other catholic epistles, by Cosmas Indicopleustes.

The authenticity of the epistle is well attested by external testimonies both ancient and numerous.

Let us consider the internal evidence.

The author was acquainted with several of Paul's epistles; their ideas as well as expressions being in the work before us. Reminiscences of that to the Romans are most apparent.

1 PETER.

Not *fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance* (i. 14).

Who by him do believe in God, that *raised him up from the dead* (i. 21).

To offer up spiritual sacrifices, *acceptable to God*, etc. (ii. 1, 2, 5).

Behold, *I lay in Sion* a chief corner stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded. Unto you therefore which believe he is precious, but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and *a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence* (ii. 6, 7).

And *be not conformed to this world* (Rom. xii. 2).

If we believe in him that *raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead* (Rom. iv. 24).

That ye present your bodies a *living sacrifice*, holy, *acceptable unto God*, which is your reasonable service (Rom. xii. 1).

Behold, *I lay in Sion a stumbling stone and rock of offence*, and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed (Rom. ix. 33).

¹ See Wetstein's *N. Test.* vol. ii. p. 681.

² *Contra Nestorianos et Eutyckianos, in Canisii Thesauro Monumentor. Eccles. et Hist.* vol. i. p. 577 ed Antwerp, 1725.

1 PETER.

Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God; which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy (ii. 10).

Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as *supreme*; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for *the punishment* of evil doers, and for the *praise* of them that do well (ii. 13).

As free, and not using your *liberty* as a cloak of maliciousness (ii. 16).

That we being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness (ii. 24).

Not rendering *evil for evil* (iii. 9).

As every man hath received *the gift*, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold *grace* of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man *minister*, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth (iv. 10, 11).

And also a partaker of *the glory that shall be revealed* (v. 1).

That the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold which perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and *honour and glory* at the appearing of Jesus Christ (i. 7).

Rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory shall be revealed ye may be glad also with exceeding joy (iv. 13).

Use hospitality one to another without grudging (iv. 9).

As he saith also in Osee, I will call them my people which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved. And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people; there shall they be called the children of the living God (Rom. ix. 25, 26).

Let every soul *be subject unto the higher powers*. For there is no power but of God. . . . Do that which is good, and thou shalt have *praise* of the same. . . . for he is the minister of God, a *revenger to execute wrath* upon him that doeth evil (Rom. xiii. 1-4).

For, brethren, ye have been called unto *liberty*; only use not *liberty* for an occasion to the flesh (Gal. v. 13).

Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness (Rom. vi. 18).

Recompense to no man *evil for evil* (Rom. xii. 17).

Having then *gifts* differing according to *the grace* that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or *ministry*, let us wait on our ministering, etc. (Rom. xii. 6, 7).

With *the glory that shall be revealed* in us (Rom. viii. 18).

To them who, by patient continuance in well doing, seek for *glory and honour* and immortality, eternal life, *Glory, honour*, and peace to every man that worketh good (Romans ii. 7, 10).

And if children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together (Romans viii. 17).

Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality (Rom. xii. 13).

1 PETER.

For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in *lasciviousness*, lusts, excess of wine, *revellings*, banquetings and abominable idolatries (iv. 3).

Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind ; for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin (iv. 1).¹

Be sober, be vigilant (v. 8).

Greet ye one another *with a kiss of charity* (v. 14).

Let us walk honestly as in the day ; not in *rioting* and drunkenness, not in *chambering* and *wantonness*, not in *strife* and *envying* (Romans xiii. 13).

Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof (Romans xiii. 14).

Let us watch and be sober (1 Thess. v. 6).

Greet ye one another *with an holy kiss* (1 Cor. xvi. 20).

No critical result is clearer than the dependence of the epistle on that to the Romans, which is so obvious in relation to the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of the latter, that the later writer is only a copyist of the other. The position has been thoroughly established by Holtzmann and Seufert.²

The doctrine of the epistle is essentially Pauline. The author speaks of *election* and *foreknowledge* (i. 2 ; ii. 9) ; of *recompence* at the appearing of Jesus Christ, expressed by the word *praise* (i. 7), as in 1 Cor. iv. 5 ; of *participation* in the sufferings of Christ (iv. 13), as in Phil. iii. 10 ; compare 2 Cor. i. 5 ; of an *inheritance* (i. 4), as in Gal. iii. 18 ; of the abuse of *liberty* (ii. 16), as in Gal. v. 13 ; of divine *calling* (i. 15), which is a characteristic Pauline doctrine ; of moral obedience (i. 2, 14), as in Rom. vi. 16 ; xvi. 19 ; and instead of the ‘obedience of faith’ (Rom. i. 5), Peter has the ‘obedience of truth,’ taken from the former. The word rendered *hidden*³ is a Pauline one, to which *man* is appended, taken from Rom. ii. 16. Instead of ‘the hidden things of the heart’ (1 Cor. xiv. 25), Peter has

¹ Comp. Holtzmann, in Schenkel’s *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. iv. pp. 496, 497.

² See Hilgenfeld’s *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 360, etc.

³ κρυπτός.

the 'hidden man of the heart' (iii. 4). The phrase *in Christ* (iii. 16; v. 10, 14) is also Pauline. The *revelation* of Jesus Christ referring to his second coming (i. 7, 13; iv. 13) is from 1 Cor. i. 7. The consequence of sin being taken away by the death of Christ is Pauline, though not expressed in the same words, 'to die to sin, and live to righteousness' (1 Peter ii. 24). Paul has *to live to God*.¹

The general result to which these coincidences lead is, that the writer had read the epistle to the Romans and others, whose ideas and phraseology became incorporated with his religious consciousness. Pauline views of doctrine and duty formed and moulded his conceptions of Christianity; even the phraseology in which they were clothed was partially accepted. The coincidences are too striking to be denied, as in the case of iii. 8, etc., compared with Rom. xii. 10, etc., where the same virtues are enjoined. The order in which they are enumerated is different, but they are the same. Equally convincing is the similarity of ii. 13, etc., to Rom. xiii. 1-4, where the same motive for subjection to the ruling powers appears. Even in a quotation from the Old Testament the agreement is remarkable. The citation in ii. 6, 7, and Rom. ix. 33, departs in both instances from the Septuagint and Hebrew. *In him* is added in 1 Peter ii. 6 and Rom. ix. 33; nor is Isai. xxviii. 16 the only source used, but also viii. 14; the words *stone of stumbling, and rock of offence*, which are identical in the two epistles, being derived from the latter passage and not in the Septuagint form.

Was Peter then a Pauline Christian? Was he dependent on Paul for leading ideas, formulas, and expressions? Had he so little originality as to necessitate recourse to written epistles? Early Christian litera-

¹ See the Greek table in De Wette's *Einleitung*. The words in italics are the same in the original.

ture is against the belief that Peter was aught else than a Jewish Christian who retained the primitive or Ebionite doctrine. All that we know of him negatives the idea that he developed into an enlarged believer of the Pauline stamp. He never became the apostle of catholicity. The early converts who appealed to him as their head set his authority against and above Paul's, considering the two apostles as antagonistic. This is shown not only by the canonical epistles of Paul, but more definitely by the Clementine Homilies. It is therefore improbable that Peter's sentiments became Pauline, as the epistle presents them; or that he possessed so little originality as to borrow largely from other writers. A list of parallels between our epistle and that to the Ephesians is given by Credner, which others have repeated and enlarged. Apart, however, from the great probability of the former's priority to the latter, and the absurd idea of Peter himself or his secretary borrowing from Paul, the passages in the present epistle do not show their derivation from that to the Ephesians. The dependence belongs to the Ephesian letter, in which both ideas and expressions are taken from its predecessor.

Some critics try to account for all Pauline similarities of thought and diction in the epistle of Peter without the use, direct or indirect, of prior epistles. Of these the most painstaking is B. Brückner,¹ who treads in the steps of Mayerhoff. But the effort is futile, since the advocates of the Petrine dependence neither represent it as absolute, nor deny diversity by the side of similarity. The coincidences seldom have the nature of verbal transcription. Hence ideas and phrases borrowed from Paul may be and are sometimes put in a different connection or receive a different

¹ In the third edition of De Wette's *Erklärung der Briefe des Petrus, Judas und Jacobus*, 1865.

application. Besides, the author of the epistle, though imbued with Paulinism, was not without independence or originality. He has features of his own, though they are not of a high order like Paul's—features consisting in his practical mode of presenting the Pauline system divested of its angular projections and apparent hardness. Paulinism is modified and softened. There are some deviations from it; or changes of view which point to a stage of development beyond the Pauline. The basis of the author's system is undoubtedly Pauline—for Judaism is represented as a thing of the past, and the Christian church as a new kingdom, a divine institution, founded on faith in the redemptive death of Christ—but other aspects of Christianity are given which Paul does not express.

Brückner makes great use of a general Christian consciousness as the source of Petrine ideas and expressions, so that they may not be considered Pauline. Without denying the existence and influence of that common possession, we question the effect attributed to it, because Peter and Paul represented two sides of primitive Christianity, to which a common Christian consciousness belonged but partially. The Ebionism of the one, and the universalism of the other, were not fused together while the two apostles lived; though an approach had been made towards the absorption of the former in the latter. The influence of a general Christian consciousness was not far-reaching enough to become the fountain of the Pauline ideas in our epistle at least in Peter's lifetime.

The argument against authenticity founded on the dependence of Peter on Paul, is strengthened by the fact that James's letter has been used. The resemblances of certain passages in 1 Peter to others in the epistle of James, are obvious. The following are worthy of notice.

JAMES.

My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into diverse temptations; knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience (i. 2, 3).

Because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away. For the sun is no sooner risen with a burning heat, but it withereth the grass, and the flower thereof falleth (i. 10, 11).

Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, etc. (i. 18).

Wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up (iv. 6, 10).

He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins (v. 20).¹

1 PETER.

Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of your faith, etc., etc., might be found unto praise etc. (i. 6, 7).

For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away (i. 24).

Being born again . . . by the word of God, etc. (i. 23).

For God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you (v. 5, 6).

For charity shall cover the multitude of sins (iv. 8).

In these places there is not only a similarity of ideas, but of language. It is true that two of the passages are taken from the Proverbs, but it is unlikely that the coincidence was accidental, because the same conclusion is drawn from the citation in both, at least in James iv. 6 and 1 Peter v. 5. The similarity is so striking, that though it is possible to account for it without assuming that the one writer read the other's production, it is unlikely. In like manner, when Peter writes to the *strangers scattered* throughout Pontus, etc., that is, to Gentiles sojourning in the specified countries, he borrows the expressions of James i. 1, where *the twelve tribes scattered abroad* are addressed. In the latter place, the phraseology is appropriate, 'the twelve tribes which are in dispersion;' in the former it is hardly so, because the word *dispersion* (elect sojourners of the dispersion) is seemingly transferred from the twelve tribes to the

¹ See the Greek table in Hug's *Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 466, 4th ed.

Gentiles. The epistle of James preceded that of Peter, so far as we can judge from the coincidence.

This dependence of the epistle upon James must not be reversed, as it is by Bengel, Grimm, Blom, and others; for it is pretty clear that the Peter who writes here is dependent on James. This is another peculiarity which detracts from Peter's supposed authorship. When his independence is encroached upon to a certain extent, he must be withdrawn from his traditional position.

To neutralise the objection taken from Peter's dependence on Paul and James, agreement between Peter and John is adduced. *Being born again of incorruptible seed* (i. 23) is like *being born of God*, whose *seed remaineth* in the believer (1 John iii. 9); the word *purify* is the same in i. 22, and 1 John iii. 3; *to live to righteousness* (ii. 24) rests on the same conception of righteousness as *doing righteousness* (1 John iii. 7); *followers of that which is good* (iii. 13) recurs in 3 John 11, connected with the doing of good; the Christian church compared to a flock (v. 2) reminds one of John x. 16; xxi. 16; Christ is *the just* in iii. 18, and 1 John iii. 7; Christ is called *a lamb* in i. 19 and John i. 29. These resemblances appear to be no more than accidental, and are very different from the Pauline ones. It is therefore illogical to infer that the Pauline similarities prove nothing more than they.

Although the writings of John were not known to the author of our epistle, there is some affinity of ideas between them. The latter speaks strongly against Judaism (ii. 7, etc.), just as John does (vi. 41-43, 60, etc.; ix. 39, etc.; xii. 37, etc.). Patience and steadfastness in the midst of suffering are repeatedly inculcated, with reference to the example of Christ (i. 6; ii. 19, 20; iii. 14, 17; iv. 1-12), etc. So in John xv. 18, etc.; xvi. 1, etc.; 1 John iii. 13. He loves to refer to Isaiah, who announced beforehand the lamb of God (i. 19;

ii. 4, 6, 9, 22, etc.), as John does, i. 23, 27; xii. 37. The spirit of Christ dwelt in the prophets, enabling them to testify beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow; which agrees with John's saying that Esaias saw Christ's glory, and spake of him (xii. 41). In consequence of this approach to the characteristic spirit of John's writings, we must suppose that Paulinism was progressing towards its ultimate expression in the Johannine circle of ideas when our author wrote. This is confirmed by its relationship to the epistle to the Hebrews, which is more apparent than any likeness it bears to John. The writer views Christianity as the complement of Judaism, Jerusalem being considered the centre of God's kingdom, and the Gentiles in that kingdom outside the metropolis being 'the dispersion.' Like the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, Peter is disposed to find types in the Old Testament of things in the New, as in iii. 20, etc. Compare Hebr. xi. 7. The dignity of Christians is set forth in ancient formulas (ii. 5, 9, 10; iv. 14). The death of Christ in connection with the bearing of sin, is described in a manner nearer to that of the epistle to the Hebrews and John's gospel, than to Paul. Compare ii. 24 with Hebr. ix. 28—i. 2 with Hebr. xii. 24; ix. 14; x. 22—iii. 18 with Hebr. ix. 26—28—iii. 21 with Hebr. ix. 24 and x. 19; ii. 11 with xi. 13. Christ is said to have appeared 'in these last times' (i. 20), as in Hebr. i. 2. Thus the author was probably acquainted with the epistle to the Hebrews, and if that were so, we are carried beyond the lifetime of the apostle to a period when Alexandrian ideas were beginning to influence men's conception of Christianity in Palestine; and Paulinism itself was passing on to its ultimate development in the Johannine type. The writer hardly stands *midway* between Paul and John, for the objective prevails over the subjective; but he is between them in time, if not in characteristics.

A thorough comparison of the present epistle with those of Paul, James, and John, instead of furnishing a remarkable attestation to the one mind which pervades all Scripture as some allege, or to the one Spirit using the different faculties of men according to his will, is detrimental to the spiritual independence of the writers. We are unable to see with Holtzmann echoes of the Colossian epistle in the present one, for the corresponding passages, which he gives, are a precarious support to the opinion.

As an offset to the epistle's dependence on Paul and James, its peculiarities have been carefully collected; and those who think that the writer was a Paulinist need not deny them. Some things are certainly peculiar; such as the idea of angels desiring to look with curious gaze into the salvation effected by Christ (i. 10-12); Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison (iii. 19, 20); the typification of baptism by the flood, and its being called 'the answer of a good conscience' (iii. 21); Christ's designation as the chief shepherd (v. 4); the grounding of an exhortation to good conduct in the fact of unbelievers acknowledging through it the causelessness of their reproaches (ii. 13; iii. 16); the endurance of wrong being termed a *grace* before God (ii. 20); the presentation of Christ's sufferings as an example of sufferings for the faith (ii. 21, etc.), and of the sufferings of believers as the beginning of judgment (iv. 12); the referring of women to the example of Sarah's subjection to Abraham (iii. 6); and the consolation derived from the similarity of the sufferings endured by Christian brethren (v. 9). The culminating point of Christianity is hope—a well-grounded expectation of future glory.

The epistle bears evidence of a mediating or conciliatory standpoint. Specific anti-Jewish Paulinism does not appear. Justification by faith alone is not mentioned. The sharp antagonism between the Petrites

and Paulines gives place to a mild statement in which the Ebionitic James is used along with the liberal Paul; and the latter's assistant Silvanus is commended by the side of Mark, Peter's traditional helper. Polemic zeal is absent; and no particular doctrine is emphasised. The production shows little originality, because it has no large views of the world, no important development of individual doctrines. Its originality consists in the judicious condensation of sentiments already current, and the combination of existing materials into a fresh shape. As a popular epistle, it has much excellence; and the collection of Christian writings would be imperfect without it. Köstlin's epithet applied to the writer is pretty near the truth, an *eclectic*, whose free elaboration of current ideas and writings resulted in a peculiar letter.

The conclusion just stated is not weakened by an argument adduced for the authenticity, from the resemblance of ideas and expressions in the epistle to Peter's speeches in the Acts: the allusion to the crucifixion and the use of the word *tree* in Acts v. 30; x. 39; 1 Peter ii. 24; the peculiar application of the term *witness* in Acts ii. 32; iii. 15; 1 Peter v. 1; the connection of the old prophets with the work of Christ in Acts iii. 18; x. 43; 1 Peter i. 10; the phrase, 'judge quick and dead' in Acts x. 42; 1 Peter iv. 5. The clauses, *the faith which is by him, the faithful or believers by him* in Acts iii. 16; 1 Peter i. 21, are also specified as cognates. This argument would be more plausible, if the speeches of Peter in the Acts were verbally repeated. But their sentiments and language are conformed to Paul's. The writer of the Acts has freely shaped them. Hence the alleged similarity in doctrine, facts, and style, between this epistle and Peter's speeches in the Acts, is of no account. Slight as it is at the best, apologists magnify it into a remarkable coincidence. From what has been advanced it

appears that no Petrine system of doctrine is deducible from our epistle. No mark of the legal Christianity which Peter represented, and that in opposition to Paul, appears, and the good works spoken of are not works of the law. Weiss's *Petrinischer Lehrbegriff* is built of crumbling materials.

It is improbable that Peter should write to the churches of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, which Paul had founded and instructed; at least while the apostle himself was alive. If he were in Babylon on the Euphrates, as many think, he could know very little of their state. It is assumed indeed that Mark had gone from Asia Minor to Babylon, and told him about the condition of the Christians in the countries referred to; but that is conjecture. Nor is the difficulty removed by supposing, with Brückner, that Mark had been with Peter before he went back to Paul, after the separation referred to in Acts xv. 39; a supposition altogether gratuitous. The salutation makes no mention of Mark's late presence in Asia Minor; nor does the epistle allude to the writer's information respecting the churches being received through Mark. On the contrary, the expression, 'Marcus, my son,' looks as if the churches knew little about Peter's companion. If Paul was a prisoner in Rome when Peter wrote to these Christians, it is strange that the latter should never allude to that fact; though it was one which would excite their sympathy. And if the apostle of the Gentiles was still travelling about, why should the apostle of the circumcision write to communities consisting for the most part of Gentiles? As soon as we try to get an intelligible or consistent view of Peter writing to these Pauline churches from Babylon while Mark was with him, either immediately before Paul's imprisonment or after it, the field of historical probability must be abandoned.

It is not likely that Peter knew Greek so well as to

be able to write the epistle. His native dialect was Aramæan; and it is improbable that he was ever able to write Greek. If he went to Babylon, it was on account of the Hebrew Christians there, who spoke the same language. Hence it is not surprising that several critics suppose that the epistle did not proceed from the apostle in its present form, but that it was translated out of Aramæan by Silvanus or Mark. Jerome speaks of Peter using 'different interpreters' in the two epistles, because of their different styles. The expression, 'I have written by Silvanus' (v. 12), might even be applied to Peter's dictation of the letter to Silvanus his amanuensis; but had he been the translator, we should have expected a salutation from him. The epistle bears no marks of a version; and in the absence of opposite testimony, we hold that it was written in Greek. Hence Peter's authorship becomes improbable, as he used the Aramæan tongue.

An unusual doctrine appears in iii. 18, etc., and iv. 6, where it is said that the gospel was preached to the dead. It was Christ who preached to the captive spirits in the under-world, to sinners who perished in the time of Noah. This is the first mention of Christ's descent into Hades to save those who were disobedient. And the dead who are supposed to be saved through it are represented as having had their judgment in the death of the body, but are still alive as incorporeal spirits. The idea that salvation was offered even to sinners in the lower world, is a beautiful one. The gospel message was presented to such as had died impenitent. Its range was wider than the earth, comprehending heaven, earth, and the under-world. The conception is post-Pauline; and does not occur in Ephesians iv. 8-10, as some have thought. Nor is it entirely original, for the Jews make such Israelites as are in Sheol partakers of Messiah's benefits.¹ Justin Martyr

¹ See Bertholdt's *Christologia Judæorum*, etc. p. 173, etc.

and Irenæus cite a passage from Jeremiah about the Holy One of Israel descending to the dead to evangelise them; but it is not in the writings of the prophet, and is probably of Jewish Christian, not Jewish, origin. The present writer may have also had respect to the *subterranean* beings or things spoken of in the Philippian epistle (ii. 10). In any case, the thought of Christ being the Saviour even of impenitent ones in Hades¹ commends itself in a certain way to the spiritual consciousness of humanity. A somewhat similar text about the under-world occurs in *Hermas*; but instead of Christ descending to preach to the spirits, *the apostles* go down to give baptism to the righteous—an idea unknown to the fathers, except to Clement of Alexandria, who copied *Hermas*.²

The descent of Christ into Hades between his death and resurrection disagrees with his own words in Luke xxiii. 43; so that Peter, if he were the writer of the epistle, departs from the Master's idea. But Origen observes that the 'expression in Luke has so troubled some by its appearance of incongruity that they have ventured to suspect the passage as an addition to the gospel by interpolators.'³ And indeed its authenticity is doubtful, since Marcion's copy wanted it. The charge of Epiphanius that Marcion cut away the words is unlikely, because they would have favoured the opinions of one who maintained that souls went to heaven at death. Besides, Tertullian omits the verse.

¹ The passage of the epistle, which has no true bearing on the question of the salvability of all sinners in a future state, since it only treats of the disobedient in Noah's time, has given rise to curious and unprofitable speculations. The conception of Christ's descent to the under-world to save certain sinners may be left to the writer himself. All that Peter is supposed to say about Christ in Hades is no guide to us in believing either that there is an intermediate state; or if there be, that it is one of probation. The various interpretations of the place before us are collected in Dr. Glog's *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, p. 174, etc.

² See *Hermas*, *Sim.* ix. 16. 5.

³ *Comment. in Joannem*, tom. 32, 19; *Opp.* iv. p. 455.

In modern times, Semler was the first that doubted Peter's direct authorship of the epistle, and Eichhorn followed. A similar position is assumed by Ewald, Grimm, Renan, and others. Ewald assumes that Peter gave his ideas to Silvanus, who, being master of good Greek, wrote the epistle to the satisfaction of the apostle. Such mediating process carries improbability on the face of it. The work is either Peter's entirely, or it is not; and Weiss is consistent in asserting the Petrine authorship, boldly maintaining that Paul used the epistle, instead of Peter using Paul's writings. Since Schwegeler and Baur, who first set aside the Petrine claims with critical skill, other scholars have accepted their conclusion: Zeller, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Blom, and W. Brückner. The Petrine origin of the letter is generally abandoned by scholars, or minimised into that of a secretary who did not scruple to borrow from Paul's epistles.

TIME AND PLACE.

The place of writing was Rome, the mystical Babylon whence Peter is supposed to address scattered believers. Babylon on the Euphrates would naturally be understood as the locality of the writer, if he were Peter; but it is unlikely that he ever was there. Ecclesiastical history is silent respecting his sojourn in Babylonia. On the other hand, the testimony of antiquity is favourable to Rome. Papias and Clement of Alexandria understood Babylon to be that city. After the naming of Rome as Babylon in the Apocalypse, the figurative usage became common. It is in the Sibylline oracles and Hippolytus; in Eusebius and Jerome. The objection that a mystical appellation is unsuitable to an epistle, is of no weight. An author personating Peter might well use a metaphorical appellation for the supposed place of his abode.

A Roman Christian wrote the epistle, in the name of Peter.

Indications of date have been found in the contents. Some, as Mayerhoff and Neander, suppose that the Neronian persecution had begun; an opinion that brings the composition of the epistle immediately after July 19, A.D. 64. Others think that the persecution was only apprehended; and date the letter earlier. The decision depends on the interpretation of various passages: i. 6; ii. 12; iii. 13-17; iv. 12-19; v. 6-10; especially on iii. 15, 16; iv. 4, 5, 15-19; v. 9. The Christians were branded as *evil-doers*, called upon to answer accusations directed against them, and condemned to death. The very name of *Christian* was a crime. The exhortation to obey all rulers appears to imply that the Roman authorities had instituted legal proceedings against the Christians; which agrees with the time of Trajan, who was the first emperor that ordered a proper investigation of the accusations brought against Christians in the Roman empire, and enacted that the persistent confession of the new religion should be punished with death. It is significant that the writer addresses believers in Bithynia; since Pliny was the governor, and had written for instructions to Rome as to the way of dealing with the Christians there. The reign of Trajan also agrees with *the strangeness* of the new trial and with *the espionage* practised, against which this emperor passed strict laws (iv. 12, 15). The Neronian persecution did not extend to the whole empire. Hence the situation indicated in the epistle does not comport with that time, but was one of general suffering and fiery trial, to which the Christians throughout the provinces were exposed from the judicial measures taken against them by the governors. The passages we have referred to are unsuited to the Neronian persecution, because it arose out of a specific charge against the Christians in Rome, viz. that they were incendiaries;

whereas the persons addressed in the epistle were branded as *evil-doers* generally; the fact of their being *Christians* and living differently from the Gentiles around them exciting suspicion and ill-will. They were proceeded against as murderers, thieves, informers. The spread of persecution and the general attention which the conduct of Christians in Asia, so unlike that of the self-indulgent heathen among whom they lived, had excited, carry us farther than the reign of Nero, even to that of Trajan. Their sufferings had begun, and more grievous ones were feared; but the writer expects their speedy cessation. Had the language of the epistle been more definite, intimating a systematic persecution of the believers for a specific crime like that of incendiarism, it might have suited the Neronian period from A.D. 64; but it points to another time and a wider field, when Christianity had drawn away so many converts in the Roman provinces of Asia that the magistrates were obliged to take measures against it. All the circumstances bring us to the reign of Trajan, perhaps to the year A.D. 113. So Schwegeler¹ and Baur conclude; and their opinion is probable, being confirmed by iv. 15, where the word sycophant or spy implies the existence of the severe laws which that emperor had enacted against informers.

PERSONS ADDRESSED.

The letter is addressed to ‘the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,’ etc. The word translated *strangers*² is of doubtful meaning. It signifies a sojourner, one who stays for a short time in a strange place, and should be taken metaphorically. Weiss, who argues at great length that the epistle was addressed to Jewish Christians, relies on the following words, ‘scattered through

¹ *Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, vol. ii. p. 10 *et seq.*

² *παρεπιδήμιος*.

Pontus,' etc., for proof that the Jewish believers in the five provinces specified were the parties intended.¹ But Gentile readers are implied in the letter itself (i. 14, 18; ii. 9, 10; iii. 6; iv. 3). Though some of these passages may appear ambiguous, because of the Jewish phraseology employed, the author's manner, which is to speak of Christianity as the consummation of Judaism, and Gentile Christians as the spiritual Israel, explains them. We know from the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles, that the churches in Asia Minor mainly consisted of Gentile converts. It is likely, too, that those of the other four countries specified were substantially composed of Gentiles. If therefore the writer addresses Gentile churches, the word *stranger* must be taken symbolically or typically for *Gentile pilgrims* or *sojourners*, those absent from the spiritual centre of God's kingdom on earth, or the Christian Jerusalem. In this way the epithet applies to Gentile Christians, for whom we believe the author intended it. The spiritual idea of pilgrimage is predominant in the epithet; and the following word, *dispersion*,² belongs as much to the noun before as to the proper names succeeding it. The language cannot be taken literally, denoting Jews in strange lands, without contradicting the contents of the letter. Neither can the word *strangers* be restricted, with Credner, to proselytes, those of Gentile extraction who had embraced Judaism before turning to Christianity, for proselytes were otherwise styled.³ That there were some Jews and some proselytes in these communities is probable enough; but they were the smaller number. The Pauline churches were chiefly Gentile.

¹ *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, p. 29.

² διασπορά.

³ προσήλυτοι, ἐνλαβεῖς, φοβούμενοι.

OBJECT.

At the close of the letter the author says, ‘By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand,’ intimating that his design was to assure them of the truth they had received from the lips of Paul and his fellow-workers being the unchangeable word of God, the source of animating hope and permanent comfort, which they should appropriate with the simplicity of new-born babes, that they might grow to Christian maturity. Thus he intended to confirm them in the faith which Paul taught. It was also included in his design to exhort them to steadfastness under the trials to which they were exposed, to give consolation, and to regulate their conduct towards the heathen around; that they might be sober, holy, harmless, silencing their persecutors with well-doing. The greater part of the letter has to do with the latter aspect of the design; from which we infer that the relation they bore to the heathen was a critical one. Suspicion, jealousy, and oppression from those without, fell to the lot of these Christians. In such circumstances the writer counselled them about their conduct, and the way in which they should meet the hatred of enemies. As they had been already grounded in the doctrines of Christianity, the letter is not doctrinal. Neither does it enter into the peculiarities of their inner life or experience. Perhaps the author did not know them well enough to do that. He contents himself with general admonitions to steadfastness. The relations of the author to his readers are not definite. Credner,¹ indeed, appeals to i. 1, 23, 25; ii. 11; v. 1, 12, 13, as proof that the Christians addressed had an accurate acquaintance with the writer

¹ *Einleitung*, p. 640.

and his affairs; but the passages in question do not reveal the fact; much less do they imply that he had laboured in the gospel for their benefit and in their midst. They show that he took an interest in their welfare, and that he knew their general condition, with the trials they were exposed to; but there are no traces of personal work among them; nothing definite in their circumstances prompting him to write. The picture is drawn in broad outlines; just as the individuality of the author himself is indistinct. He confines himself to generals, and his production has little of a personal character.

GENERAL CHARACTER, STYLE, AND DICTION.

Steiger¹ finds in the epistle great facility of expression and ease in linking ideas together; but the case does not appear to us in the same light. The language is somewhat rugged, and the author's control over it incomplete. He uses it with a degree of embarrassment, which influences the development of his ideas and makes their consecution illogical. They are often attached to a word by means of a relative pronoun, which gives the style a limping appearance. The sequence of ideas, such as it is, has been well traced by Seyler in the first twelve verses, where it is least apparent;² and it is observable in the remainder of the epistle.

The diction is not devoid of strength, but it is rough; and the construction is often constrained. The author repeats the same sentiments, in identical or similar words, oftener than Paul. Compare, for example, iii. 16 with ii. 12; iii. 1—iv. 3 with i. 14; ii. 11—iv. 12 with i. 6—9; iv. 14 with ii. 20; iii. 14, 17; v. 8 with iv. 7; i. 13. He likes to employ the preposition

¹ *Exposition of the First Epistle of Peter*, etc., vol. i. pp. 7, 8, English translation.

² *Studien und Kritiken* for 1832, p. 44 et seq.

to with the accusative of a person (i. 4, 10, 11, 25) ; to separate the article from its noun (iii. 2, 3, 16) ; to use the particle *as* (i. 14, 19 ; ii. 2, 5, 11–14, 16, 25 ; iii. 6, 7 ; iv. 10–12, 15, 16 ; v. 3, 8, 12) ; and to apply a participle, not only with an imperative either before or after it, but absolutely without any finite verb (i. 13, 14, 18, 22, 23 ; ii. 1, 4, 12, 16, 18 ; iii. 1, 7, 9, 16 ; iv. 8 ; v. 7). In no other writer do we meet with *glories* (i. 11), or *virtues* in the plural number (ii. 9) ; and with *the same sufferings* (v. 9)¹ so expressed. In citing the Old Testament the phrase *it is contained in Scripture* (ii. 6)² is singular. *The Spirit of God rests* (iv. 14) ; *the loins of the mind* (i. 13) ; *to distribute honour* (iii. 7), are also phrases peculiar to the writer. He has favourite words ;³ and the number of terms which occur in his epistle alone is large.⁴

It is not uncommon to trace Peter's mental idiosyncrasy in the manner, style, and language of the letter, after it has been assumed that he wrote it. Fervour has been pronounced its chief characteristic, from Chrysostom downward. The author hurries on, says what he has to say in any words that come soonest, stamps the image of his soul on thoughts and language, portrays the profound emotions that swayed him, his earnest convictions and thorough zeal. Such description is the offspring of imagination. The writer is calm, serene, zealous, mild, earnest but not fervid. He does not hurry along. Instead of stamping the

¹ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων.

² περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ.

³ ὡς ἀναστροφή, κακοποιός.

⁴ So called ἁπαξ λεγόμενα, as ἀδελφότης, ἄδολος, ἀναγεννᾶν, αἰσχροκερδῶς, ἀλλοτριεπισκόπος, ἀμαράντινος, ἀμαράντος, ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀναζώννυσθαι, ἀνάχυσσις, ἀνεκλάλητος, ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, ἀντιλοιδορεῖν, ἀπογίνεσθαι, ἀπονέμειν, ἀρτιγέννητος, ἀπροσωπολήπτως, ἀρχιποίμην, ἀθέμιτος, βιοῦν, βασιλείος, γυναικεῖος, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν, ἐπερώτημα, ἐμπλοκή, ἐνδυσις, ἐννοια sing., ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἐποπτεύειν, ἐπικάλυμμα, ἐπίλοιπος, ἐγκομβοῦσθαι, ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, ἐξερευνᾶν, ἱεράτευμα, κλέος, κραταῖός, ὁμόφρων, ὀπλίζεσθαι, οἰνοφλυγία, πτόησις, προμαρτύρεσθαι, περίθεσις, πότος, πατροπαράδοτος, προθύμως, ῥύπος, συνοικεῖν, συνεκλεκτή, συμπαθής, σθενοῦν, σπορά, συμπρεσβύτερος, ὑπολιμπάνειν, ὑπογραμμός, φιλάδελφος, ὠρύεσθαι, nearly sixty in all.

image of his soul upon the letter, it is obvious that he lacked the profundity of emotion and intensity of purpose which alone could impart a living impress to the production. The very trait most absent from the letter is a distinct individuality. We admit that tokens of individual character and independence are found here and there, but they are of a minor kind, having their basis in Paulinism and consisting of details. The body of Christian doctrine on which he builds is Paul's, interpenetrated with his own remarks; the practical side of it being presented after his own fashion. To speak therefore of 'a Petrine doctrinal system,'¹ or to find one in the epistle, is preposterous. The author's manner is fresh but passionless, more placid and chastened than we might expect from Peter. He is cheerful, consolatory, and hopeful. We do not say that Peter could not have written the letter, for it is hazardous to judge of one's composition and pronounce it authentic or not from a few personal traits; but the absence of definite personality, and its mild tone, make his authorship improbable. The fiery vigour of the apostle is not reflected. The head of the Jewish Christians must have greatly changed, if he became the conciliatory expounder of a practical Paulinism.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

Steiger states truly that a logically-arranged table of all the contents can scarcely be given. The author passes from one thing to another, insensibly. A sequence of ideas can be traced, though it is irregular.

Perhaps the best division is into two parts, exclusive of the salutation, introduction, and concluding verses, the former containing general, the latter particular exhortations, viz. i. 13-ii. 10, and ii. 11-v. 11.

The inscription and salutation are in verses 1, 2.

¹ *Petrinischer Lehrbegriff*, the title of a volume by B. Weiss.

In the introduction the author expresses gratitude to God for the abundant blessings of salvation bestowed on himself and his readers, reminding them of the conflict which Christians have to endure; and taking it for granted that they were conducting themselves so that it should issue in complete salvation in the day of Christ's manifestation. The mention of salvation leads him to mark its importance by the fact, that the old prophets were earnestly desirous to know the time to which the spirit of prophecy respecting Christ pointed; and that the angels themselves were eager to look into it (i. 3-12).

A series of general admonitions follows. He exhorts the Christians of Asia Minor to a watchful and perfect hope in the favour to be brought to them at the future appearance of Christ; to obedience and holiness, since he that called them is holy, and because they should fear their judge, recollecting the atoning death of Christ, who was foreordained from eternity but appeared in the latter time for the benefit of believers. He counsels them still further to holiness and especially to brotherly love, by bringing to their recollection the regenerated state into which they were introduced by the instrumentality of the living word, which he proves to abide for ever by reference to the Old Testament (i. 13-25).

The writer further exhorts them to growth in the new life, if indeed they had begun to experience the grace of God; reminding them that they formed part of the spiritual temple of which Jesus Christ is the cornerstone; and that they were the officiating priests in it to offer spiritual sacrifices. This is established by an appeal to the Old Testament; whence he draws the conclusion that the honour is to believers, while danger and destruction await the disobedient. Resuming the description of Christians contained in a preceding verse, he represents them as a peculiar people who had obtained mercy (ii. 1-10).

The second division consists of a series of special

exhortations, bearing on the external and internal relations of those addressed (ii. 11-v. 11).

The author counsels his readers to maintain a good life among the heathen, that their adversaries might be led to glorify God, and to submit to the civil government they were under; for though spiritually free, they should not abuse their liberty. On the contrary, they were bound to treat all with due respect (ii. 12-17).

Slaves are enjoined to obey their masters, and to be patient under the ills of their lot, since they were called for this very purpose that they should exhibit a spirit of meek endurance under the pressure of suffering, in accordance with the example of Christ, who bore the penalty for our sins and brought us back to His fold (ii. 18-25).

Wives are exhorted to obey their husbands; and instead of priding themselves on outward decorations, to attract by mental charms. This is enforced by the examples of holy women under the old dispensation and of Sarah in particular, whose daughters Gentile women become when they do right, and have no fear of threatenings without (iii. 1-6).

Husbands are admonished to honour and respect the wife as the weaker vessel (iii. 7).

By way of conclusion, the author subjoins a general exhortation respecting unanimity, sympathy, brotherly love, mercifulness, courtesy, returning good for evil, speaking peace instead of speaking guile; reminding his readers that God rewards the good and punishes the evil (iii. 8-12).

He now exhorts them to the exercise of a fearless, meek, and patient spirit in the prospect of suffering, founded on the possession of a good conscience; referring for their encouragement to the sufferings and resurrection of Christ, who, when put to death as to His flesh, was made alive as to His spirit (spiritual personality), and preached in Hades to the captive spirits who

had been disobedient till the flood. In like manner through baptism, in a mode similar to that in which Noah and his family were rescued, a small number are now saved by virtue of the resurrection of Christ who is gone to the right hand of God (iii. 13-22).

This leads to encouraging counsel. Since Christ suffered for sinners, they should exhibit the fortitude and patience He displayed; for the man who bears his sufferings with a Christian spirit ceases to sin habitually, that he may live after the will of God. Believers should not indulge fleshly lusts after the manner of the heathen (iv. 1-3).

As their holy conduct had brought the reproaches of the ungodly upon them, they are referred to the judgment, when they and their accusers should receive a righteous sentence. And because the judgment is at hand, he enjoins them to be sober and watchful; to have fervent charity towards one another; to be hospitable, each employing his gift for the benefit of others; for example, the teacher or prophet uttering the words of God, not his own opinions, and everyone ministering of the ability given him, that God might be glorified in all His instruments (iv. 4-11).

The writer encourages his readers to bear the trial to which God should subject them with joyful spirit. If they were reproached for Christ's sake they were happy, inasmuch as the Spirit was in them as a spirit of glory and power. They should be careful, however, not to suffer in a bad cause, but as followers of Christ; not ashamed, but rather praising God in this respect (iv. 12-16).

The necessity of bearing the judgment which began to threaten the unbelieving, serves to console the suffering (iv. 17-19).

He now addresses the elders of the churches, enjoining them to attend to their duties spontaneously, not for the sake of money, not lording it over the churches,

but being examples to the flock, remembering that their reward would come from the chief Shepherd. The younger should be subject to the elder, none seeking to exercise authority over the rest, but all clothed with humility (v. 1-5).

The closing exhortation relates to humble submission to God's will, sobriety, and watchfulness against the great adversary, whom they are commanded to resist with steadfast faith. To this is appended a prayer for the confirmation of his readers in the truth, with a doxology (v. 6-11).

The conclusion alludes to Silvanus as bearer of the letter; and salutations are sent from the church at Babylon and from Mark (v. 12-14).

If one idea be prominent in the epistle it is hope. The author, connecting suffering and glory, leads the minds of his readers along the path of hope.

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